

## Union College Union | Digital Works

---

Honors Theses

Student Work

---

6-2013

# South Carolina: From a State of Rebellion to a State of Change A Study of Reconstruction in South Carolina from 1866-1872 Through A Partisan Press

Samantha Killeen

*Union College - Schenectady, NY*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalworks.union.edu/theses>



Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Killeen, Samantha, "South Carolina: From a State of Rebellion to a State of Change A Study of Reconstruction in South Carolina from 1866-1872 Through A Partisan Press" (2013). *Honors Theses*. 692.

<https://digitalworks.union.edu/theses/692>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Work at Union | Digital Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Union | Digital Works. For more information, please contact [digitalworks@union.edu](mailto:digitalworks@union.edu).

South Carolina:  
From a State of Rebellion to a State of Change  
A Study of Reconstruction in South Carolina from 1866-1872  
Through A Partisan Press

By

Samantha L. Killeen

\* \* \* \* \*

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
Of the requirements for Graduation

Department of American Studies  
UNION COLLEGE  
April, 2013

## Abstract

The United States was not always as united as its name suggests. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as the country was in turmoil, the nation was divided between the North and the South, ultimately resulting in a four year Civil War. By 1865 the regions' tensions around the strongly contrasting views of partisanship, the role of the Federal government, and race were fully exposed. Between 1865 and 1877, the nation embarked on a path of Reconstruction as a way to rebuild itself. This path had three different phases – Presidential Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, and Redemption. However, South Carolina, along with other southern states, strongly resisted such a movement and refused to accept change. Thus, the state became one the loudest and most vocal critics of Reconstruction as it impacted the nation's development.

For South Carolina, 1865 until 1872 was a time of great struggle, as the state resisted Federal control yet was still subjected to forcible change. This struggle was documented in newspapers such as the *Charleston Daily News*. These newspapers were the passageways to South Carolina's heart, as they directly spoke to and shaped the ideas of people, especially around partisanship, the Federal Government and attitudes towards blacks, reflecting tensions that were embedded in the fabric of the changing country.

The *Charleston Daily News* emerged in 1865 with strong partisanship ties to state Conservatives and the nation's Democratic Party. The *News* advocated for each with such dedication that the articles mildly resembled propaganda. However, as Reconstruction developed and Radicalism emerged, South Carolina's political views changed, as reflected in the opinions of the *News*, which by 1872 began to encourage its readers to break from the Democratic Party and support a fusion party.

## Abstract

Partisanship was not the only aspect of politics where the *News* attempted to change citizen's minds through the use of strong persuasion; the paper also used their position to impose its views against the Federal Government. The *News* was a clear advocate of state's rights – an idea that South Carolina held steadfast in since the antebellum period. Regardless of this, there was a momentarily lapse in which the *News* started to shift toward Federal Government support in the early years of the Johnson administration. However, the wavering support quickly faded, and South Carolina retreated back to its hostile relationship with the centralized power by 1872.

The *Charleston Daily News* through its reporting on partisanship and the Federal Government demonstrated the struggles South Carolina had encountered during Reconstruction. Another one of the greatest obstacle the state faced was in regard to whites attitudes towards blacks. Whites for a long time resented blacks as they saw blacks not as human beings but rather as property and a source of prosperity. As Reconstruction progressed and amendments passed granting blacks more rights, resentment continued. However, with these new black rights came a shift in voting patterns, which impacted the state. Therefore, the *News* acknowledged this and attempted to shape citizens minds towards a tolerance of blacks for political purposes.

In conclusion, between 1865 and 1872, the *Charleston Daily News* sought to influence the behavior of the citizens of the state especially in regard to people's partisanship ties, views of the Federal Government, and attitudes towards blacks. The paper used tactics such as harsh language, the instilment of fear, and a genuine sense of an agenda with the hope of returning the state to its understanding of the ideal way of life, states rights and white supremacy.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Abstract .....  | i   |
| Chapter 1: The Press' Influence Within South Carolina ..... | 1   |
| Chapter 2: South Carolina After the War, 1865-1872 .....    | 20  |
| Chapter 3: Partisanship Ties .....                          | 46  |
| Chapter 4: Relationship with the Federal Government.....    | 74  |
| Chapter 5: Attitudes Toward Blacks.....                     | 98  |
| Chapter 6: The Ultimate Goal.....                           | 128 |
| Bibliography .....  | 139 |

## Chapter 1: The Press' Influence Within South Carolina

Every state within the United States was unique and held its own history, thus collectively differentiating it from all the rest. In many ways South Carolina epitomized this, as the state had tremendous significance in regard to the development of the nation through its involvement in some of the country's most significant events. This is further evident when studying the state within the crucial time period, 1865-1872, a time within Reconstruction when the nation was changing at a rapid pace. The study of South Carolina during this time period of Reconstruction examines the way in which the presses, specifically the Charleston Daily News, sought to influence and shape the minds of its citizens within the state. The paper explicitly focuses on partisanship ties, views of the Federal Government, and attitudes towards blacks. It reveals stark changes and a progression in the *News*' own views. The public absorbed the influence of the paper, thus reflecting the impact of the press and the way in which it could shape the population's minds. Furthermore, as the state became more engulfed in the changes associated with Reconstruction, the paper used stronger rhetoric, demonstrated through harsh and direct language, as a way to persuade the public. The paper's study also sought to better understand how South Carolina citizens responded to and had been affected by the drastic changes of Reconstruction.

South Carolina during the years of Reconstruction, the time period that immediately followed the Civil War, maintained an on-going war over statewide and nationwide politics, the power of the Federal Government, and the civil rights of blacks.<sup>1</sup> The struggle for the state was largely based upon the racial and political divides that had

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter Edgar, (*South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998) 377.

begun long before the Civil War and continued well into Reconstruction; some may argue they continue into the present day. Throughout history, South Carolina had found itself at the center of some of the United States' most controversial and important racial and political issues, and due to that the state's struggle it has been at the forefront of American history. South Carolina was a steadfast beacon to the issues of the divided nation as it supported Conservative rule, its own version of racism, slavery, and state's rights. The Palmetto state's politics and policies protected its citizens' interests through the assertion of states' rights and worked to export the belief and vision to the nation as a whole.

The progression of the country after the Civil War has intrigued historians, political scientists, writers, and scholars; therefore the time period became a basis of curiosity, with a particular interest in the Southern states, especially South Carolina. Literature written on South Carolina mainly studies the state on a national level, rather than from the perspectives of peoples' first hand experiences. Through the examination of the state's history, as portrayed through the newspaper, individuals' rationale and emotions on certain topics – partisanship, the Federal Government and race – allow a deeper history to be formulated.

Regardless, much of South Carolina's past continued to be written in the more methodological sense in which some events are placed on a generalized timeline of the country's history. Much of the literature laid a concrete background of the era that was drawn from a more historical knowledge and fact based timeline of events that occurred during the Civil War, information that was backed by newspapers' as evidence. In this paper however, South Carolina's history is based by the examination of newspapers and

the ways in which the specific paper writes the history directly read by the public. This paper focuses on the ways in which newspapers affect the citizens of the country, thus examining primary sources as the basis of the research material. However, in order to fully understand the ways in which newspapers impacted South Carolinians' lives, the development of the historical background is essential. One common methodological approach to recording South Carolinian history is by grouping different time periods by centuries or half centuries. Eric Foner, the father of the nation's Reconstruction history, used such an approach in his explanation of the course of Reconstruction within the United States in his book *A Short History of Reconstruction*. The book served as an in depth analysis which peered into the aftermath and effects of the Civil War. The book highlighted the challenges presented by Reconstruction and the approaches the country had to address, which concerned the struggles with its reunification and reconstruction of the Union. Such challenges that he focused on in the book included, the profound presence of blacks' their impact that developed the country, the ways that the United States was remodeled its economical and societal orders as the North and the South were reunited as one, and the power struggle that occurred between the nation and state which led to the reemergence of the United States of America. Foner clearly argued in the book that Reconstruction after the Civil War was overwhelmingly successful and beneficial for the nation; however, he alluded to some failures as well. The results of Reconstruction allowed the nation to positively shift its progress and development in a productive manner that led to great change. Reconstruction during the nineteenth century created the foundation that the United States was, and continuously is, built on it; yet, it also briefly exposed the nation to the development of profound division, especially in regard to race



relations. Foner examined the Reconstruction era with a sizeable emphasis on the consequences that it had on a national level as it ultimately served as the foundation for the post-war events. In addition, the country at the time was at its most vulnerable state, therefore any changes that accompanied Reconstruction contributed to the recreation of the nation founded only 100 years earlier. Foner in the book discussed the United States' national politics and extended an in depth analysis of the impacts that the presidential campaigns and election had on the country; he also focused on the political parties that rose and fell during the time period. Another aspect of Foner's book studied the transitions of power within political parties, both at state and national levels. During the period of Presidential Reconstruction Foner directed a significant of his analysis on the Southern states because in many ways, the South was the root of the nation's problem, one that resulted in a civil war. Furthermore, the southern states, as a collective region, required the heaviest course of action during Reconstruction as the region became conquered territory and its future created tension and controversy within the Union. The discussion of the southern states largely emphasized South Carolina's role within Reconstruction, especially during Presidential and Radical Reconstruction. As a whole, Foner's book provided a thorough historical and political study of the impacts of the Civil War on the nation and ways in which the country was shaped as a result.<sup>2</sup>

David Duncan Wallace used a similar approach as he explored multiple different aspects of the state's history in a very generalized sense. His book, *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*, briefly summarized South Carolina at the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The largest focus of the book was on the politics of the state and it

---

<sup>2</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction*. (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1990) 82-142.

ultimately outlined the consequences that affected the state, especially in regard to national outlook.<sup>3</sup>

Another scholar who used the methodological approach of a historiography when examining South Carolina was historian Walter Edgar in his book *South Carolina: A History*. The book traced the history of South Carolina over the course of nearly 500 years. A large portion of the book examined the period of Reconstruction within the state, which closely focused on the changes that took place through South Carolina's struggle to redefine and reunify itself within the country. The book examined many transformations that South Carolina was subjected to, especially those which surrounded Reconstruction such as racial, social, and political outlooks. Therefore, Edgar created a detailed timeline that demonstrated the state's transition from the Old South, that of the antebellum period and the war, to the New South, the region that was forming through the years of Reconstruction.<sup>4</sup>

The literature produced by Foner, Wallace, and Edgar collectively are pieces which cover a large time period of South Carolina's history in a very methodological manner, typically by centuries or half centuries. Another similar systematic approach used to examine large histories is through a method, which breaks up of time periods, and therefore allows a more centralized understanding of the events that shaped the state to develop. Historian Richard Zuczek used this approach when he examined South Carolina's Reconstruction in *State of Rebellion: South Carolina During Reconstruction*. Within the book Zuczek argued that although the Civil War ended, the South in many

---

<sup>3</sup> David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951) 558-581.

<sup>4</sup> Walter B. Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998) 377-401, 539-548.

aspects refused to stop its fight, as it did not accept the Northern victory. As a result, his argument was shaped around the idea that for the state “at the heart of the issue [the Civil War defeat] was control: who was responsible, who had the right and the authority to determine the nature of the state’s society.”<sup>5</sup> The book centered upon the idea of a white supremacist society as it attempted to regain the control it had lost in the Civil War, and the state’s further unification against Reconstruction. Thus, Zuczek critically analyzed the politics during Reconstruction, which included not only state, but also national and legislative policies that were put forth during the time period as well.<sup>6</sup>

One major factor that Zuczek touched on in the book was the influence of the Ku Klux Klan within South Carolina, a concept that Robert Shapiro explored more deeply in his essay “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode.” The purpose of the essay was to inform people of all the falsehoods and generalizations made about the Klan. Shapiro in the piece evaluated the effect that the Ku Klux Klan had on South Carolina during Reconstruction and the role the organization played in the politics of the state. Specifically he studied the Klan’s involvement in the state elections of 1868 and 1870; he claimed that the actions of the group were more political than society believed. Shapiro wrote about the organization’s role in the Democratic Party and connected the violence, not to racism, per say, but to prevention of blacks at the voting polls.<sup>7</sup> In addition he also drew on national legislation that was created and enforced as a way to end the reign of terror on the state. He did not debunk the terror that was brought

---

<sup>5</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-6.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode.” *The Journal of Negro History*, 49, No. 1 (1964): 34-37, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2716475>.

upon blacks, but he did attempt to refocus the opinions regarding the actions that left scars and burdens on the state.<sup>8</sup>

The terror and permanent mark that the Ku Klux Klan left on South Carolina undoubtedly scared much of the state's population, which left vivid memories and recounts of the events. Therefore, it was interesting that many historians, political scientists, writers and scholars also wrote thorough histories of South Carolina centered upon memories obtained by Northerners and Southerners. A large amount of literature that surrounded the topic of South Carolina was taken from the white person's perspective, and failed to truly embody the blacks' experience. Therefore, in order to gain a complete sense of the time period, books written based on the perspectives of blacks are critical. This infrequent, yet important, approach of reversed perspectives, blacks' interpretations instead of white, on South Carolina was used by historian James McPherson in *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*. The book inspected blacks' role in the Civil War and the instrumental role they played in gaining their own freedom. An argument can be made that through an examination of emotions one has the ability to better understand the difference between the perceived and actual influences/effects.<sup>9</sup>

Comparably another historian, Eric Foner, in the essay "Rights and the Constitution in black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction" also wrote about the impact of blacks on the nation. He specifically focused on voting and the political system, which included national legislation such as the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1866. He also addressed other Federal acts

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 44-48.

<sup>9</sup> James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*. (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1991) Preface to 1991.

in the piece such as the Freedmen's Act, and the Reconstruction Act, in addition to the Enforcement Acts. Thus one main point taken from the essay was how post-war Reconstruction was woven into state politics. Foner also described the attitude of the South through the region's need for "redemption," which he used as evidence in the explanation of Southern actions. Foner accurately expressed the impacts and emotions of blacks within the time period through primary sources, which directly portrayed their visions and thoughts.<sup>10</sup>

A more in depth look at blacks' role in South Carolina's history was done through the literature of Thomas Holt, a historian of American and African American studies, entitled *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*.<sup>11</sup> Throughout Holt's book, black men of South Carolina were looked at socially, politically and economically – among other ways. He also thoroughly examined the opportunities and abilities of blacks in regard to their political positions after the war.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, Holt got to the heart of the problem that South Carolina and the rest of the South struggled with, the blacks vote and influence in politics.

In addition, David R. Goldfield's book entitled *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* examined the idea of white Southern memory. In this book, he suggested that the South and the lifestyle and culture within the region had always been very different from the North, however the differences were made more

---

<sup>10</sup> Eric Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction." *The Journal of American History*, 74, No. 3, The Constitution and American Life: A Special Issue (1987): 863-883, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1902157>

<sup>11</sup> Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

<sup>12</sup> Philip J. Avillo Jr., "Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction (review)." *Civil War History* 24, No. 3 (1978): 281-283. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cwh/summary/v024/24.3.avillo.html>

evident through the memories of the era. He argued that these memories were skewed because Southerners tended to hold different versions of the antebellum and Reconstruction history, in comparison to other parts of the country. As a consequence, Goldfield suggested that the South had been shaped in a different manner due to various contrasting perspectives that the Southerners held as remembrance. Goldfield's piece was prime example of the typical approach used to study history, especially of South Carolina.<sup>13</sup>

David Blight's *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory*, examined the Civil War and Reconstruction through public memory. He closely analyzed the ways in which Americans chose to remember, or forget, instances and events associated with the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. He specifically focused on race relations, politics, and forms of justice through individual's memories. Therefore, he noted that much of the nation's events were remembered differently, specifically many of the memories of the time were much more romantic to each individual – the northerner's or southerner's, white's or black's, male's or female's memory. Ultimately the memories that were developed contributed and shaped the course of the country while it also built an enormous race barrier that was present long into the twentieth century. Blight studied memory through the perspective of whites and blacks. Throughout his book he centered his arguments upon white supremacy, as it was the common belief that many people held within the state. Blight stated, "Reconstruction itself, 1865-77, was not only a time of political and constitutional strife, but also an area of unprecedented clashes between races' memories of war, extreme suffering, grand political ambitions, and revolutionary

---

<sup>13</sup> David R. Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004) 11.

turn in race relations and human rights.”<sup>14</sup> Through the eyes of blacks he explicitly showed the division within the country over race during a time period when “equality” was the ultimate goal of the black citizens. Thus, Blight provided a unique perspective that typically was not explored.<sup>15</sup>

In addition another book entitled *Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and the South 1861-1865* by author Alice Fahs was written, which contrasted with the other works used in the paper by scholars on the matter. Fahs wrote about the history of Reconstruction through newspapers and the influence that newspapers held during the Civil War. She argued that the press played a critical role, which shaped the two regions’ perspectives of the war and thus created a precedent that explained people’s reactions and the region’s development at the war’s conclusion.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout the antebellum period and continued into the war and reconstruction, South Carolina was one of the fiercest resisters of Reconstruction. The state was key to the philosophical and actual battleground in the American Revolution, and was one of the largest ports in the new United States’, thus South Carolina greatly contributed to the growth of the United States in the late 1700s and early 1800s. In addition, South Carolina, and Charleston specifically in this case, was the primary port in the slave trade; the state was also the leading advocate for states’ rights and the right to own slaves, and the first battle of the bloodiest war in American history. The state of South Carolina greatly impacted the nation’s history of progression as the state’s rebellious spirit helped

---

<sup>14</sup> David W Blight, *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) 32.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 31-32.

<sup>16</sup> Alice Fahs, *Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South 1861-1865*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2001) 18-21.

with the building of the country's character. South Carolina throughout history had an outsized significance in the development of the United States.

The years after the Civil War was the time when the country began to rebuild itself after it was torn apart by the deadliest war in American history, past or present. The essential fabric of the country, politically, societally, economically, religiously and in every other aspect had been torn apart and the process to reassemble it would prove to be no easy task. There was always a political – both in respect to partisanship and Federal Government – and racial separation in the country between the North and the South, but regardless of the obstacles an effort continued to restore the Union. Massive amounts of American blood had been spilled to both defeat racial inequality (the North's view) and to defend a way of life, which consisted of political parties, limited central government, and white supremacy (the South's). Despite the Southern views, the North was victorious, which meant the ideals that structured the region, such as Republican rule, a strong central government, and abolition were factors that were implemented during the period. This transition that the North was imposing on the South had many significant impacts as shown through the political and social progression of the nation in the era of Reconstruction.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of the Civil War, slavery was abolished, as decreed by the Emancipation Proclamation, and Reconstruction promised the former slaves great hope and change. The Federal legislation that ultimately resulted from the war theoretically provided blacks with a chance of equality and true integration within society; however, the reality was that race relations between blacks and whites after the Civil War

---

<sup>17</sup> Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870*. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.



continued to be complex, explosive and hostile, and stayed this way for nearly a decade. This pattern of political and social history can be determined through the analysis of the *Charleston Daily News*, which both shaped and reflected shifts in the citizens' attitudes and behaviors.

By studying South Carolina and the events that it contributed to during the nation's history, one might grasp a better understanding of how much impact the main source of news, the newspaper, had on changing individuals attitudes, behaviors and stances. In addition, through the close examination of one newspaper, the *Charleston Daily News*, we can trace the changes, or lack of changes, of partisanship ties, the relation with the Federal Government, and attitudes and beliefs associated with blacks, providing a clearer picture, of the overall impact of reconstruction.

South Carolina in the nineteenth century was one of the most rebellious states in the country and opposed many of the measures and laws that were ratified and imposed by the Federal government of the United States. In many ways, it was the catalyst for southern secession in 1860 and 1861 and the establishment of Confederates of America, more commonly known as the Confederacy. It continued to rebel even after the South was defeated as it ignored human bondage prohibitions, such as the thirteenth amendment, ignored equal rights laws for all races, like the fourteenth amendment, ignored voting rights like the fifteenth amendment for all its citizens, and ignored equal education opportunity.<sup>18</sup> South Carolina remained a radical state led by white supremacists that longed to preserve their way of life, where white society ruled and

---

<sup>18</sup> Edgar, 390.

blacks had no rights other than to serve the white males' society. The concept was one similar to the beliefs of the other former secessionist states within the Deep South.<sup>19</sup>

Politically, between 1865 and 1872 the nation was in shambles as the country was still partially divided between North and the South and as the southern states were still territories that had not been readmitted into the Union. Although initially the readmission criteria seemed to be in favor and in alignment with the states, South Carolina by 1865 still was not accepted into the Union, which meant it was not a recognized state of the country, but instead considered a "conquered provinces."<sup>20</sup> Therefore, Johnson proposed a temporary solution – the appointment of provisional governors over all states in the South. Johnson appointed South Carolina Benjamin F. Perry, whose task was to prepare South Carolina to be readmitted as well as to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment, which was made part of the Reconstruction Policy and a requirement for Southern states to be readmitted to the Union. Under Perry, South Carolina was allowed to reestablish its state government, which it quickly did with the hopes that it could limit the federal power that had been bestowed upon the state.<sup>21</sup>

The Thirteenth Amendment was not one that was accepted throughout South Carolina, as demonstrated through the state's response of the implementation of "Black Codes," which limited black's rights and essentially reinstated slavery in a legal way. Such acts by the state led to the Reconstruction Act, or Military Bill, in 1867, once again destroying the state government as the centralized powers imposed military rule throughout the South. Once control was reestablished throughout the region, the states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, one that ensured citizenship and the protection of

---

<sup>19</sup> Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, 2-4.

<sup>20</sup> Foner, 109.

<sup>21</sup> Wallace, 562-564.

civil and political rights. The Fourteenth Amendment, in many ways, was the Federal Government's response to South Carolina's black codes, the result that stemmed from the ratification of the amendment ruled the codes as illegal acts. Ultimately the Fourteenth Amendment allowed blacks, as well as other minorities, to be considered citizens of the United States. Through such imposed law, the military that had occupied the "conquered territories," withdrew from the state and allowed the state government to once again reform.<sup>22</sup>

The state and national elections of 1868 served as turning points in the nation's political history, as blacks were able to vote. In both elections, the allowance of the black vote had major impacts in the outcomes, as for both elections Republican candidates won due to the great impact of the black vote.<sup>23</sup> The power that blacks held over South Carolina through its voting ability gave rise to the state's early struggle with the Ku Klux Klan, an organization of white supremacy and adamant supporters of the Democrats – the political party that was in many ways the party of slavery. The Klan had organized and originated in Tennessee in 1866 yet held no strong ties within South Carolina until 1868 with its first real emergence of terror. The Klan responded to the impact the blacks made through terror and violence, forcing the Federal Government to intervene and call for military occupancy as a way to protect black citizens. As a result, by 1869 South Carolina was once again under military Federal control.<sup>24</sup>

A year after the military occupied South Carolina, the state held elections for the position of Governorship, one that further affirmed the amount of influence blacks held through voting. Thus, solid groundwork was laid for the ratification of the Fifteenth

---

<sup>22</sup> Zuczek, 38-39.

<sup>23</sup> Edgar, 387-388.

<sup>24</sup> Blight, 116.

Amendment, which established the right to vote “regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude.”<sup>25</sup> The rights granted in the amendment would continue to have greater impact over the later half of Reconstruction.

As South Carolina, and much of the South, violently resisted legislation that surrounded rights granted to blacks, the Federal Government in response imposed the Ku Klux Klan Act, or Enforcement Act, to ensure the Fifteenth Amendment was carried out within the state. The acts were imposed as a way to not only enforce black suffrage but to resist a rise in white supremacy throughout the state, as blacks stepped closer to equality.<sup>26</sup>

By 1870 many whites, mainly middle class men, had unaligned themselves with the Republican Party, as most thought the Governor had lost power and authority of the state as he called in the national guard to reestablish his control. Therefore, for many whites who opposed the Republican Party, viewing it as corrupt, opposed the Radical Republicans, as they were advocates for black suffrage, and knew that the Democratic Party would have no standing due to the black vote, a fusion party was created in 1870, the “Uniform Reform Party.” The party was founded on white ideals and embraced what the members thought of as the ideals of the “common man” of the state. Ultimately, regardless of the third party formation, blacks continued in their impact over the state and the Republican Party remained in power for another two years.<sup>27</sup>

The Republican Party within South Carolina collapsed by 1872, as the Republican governor of the state was impeached. This again caused the state to create a fusion party, the “Independent Republican Party.” The party’s ideology was very much similar to that

---

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Constitution, amend. 15, sec. 2, cl. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Foner, 224-225.

<sup>27</sup> Wallace, 580.

of the Reform Party, as it was an option for citizens who held support for neither the Conservative Republicans nor Radical Republicans. The constant struggles that South Carolina experienced politically represented the state's battle with Reconstruction as a whole.<sup>28</sup>

The *Charleston Daily News* was the main artery, which gave information to the citizens of Charleston and therefore, the paper used its power to inform, educate and essentially shape the minds of its readers and the people. The newspaper reported on the news of the day in Charleston, South Carolina and much of the nation, and included what was happening within the nation's capital, the seat of the Federal government. The press used every tool at its disposal to mold of citizens' points of views; it reprinted stories from other newspapers that shared its philosophies. The paper also reported and wrote articles that only furthered its own agenda, that is to say that the paper did not report on information and events that were contrary to its views.<sup>29</sup> The style and manner by which the *News* reported information influenced its readers perspectives, provided ammunition for discussions and debates and help shape the reader's lives and outlooks. This was especially true when the events and public opinion were examined in the first phase of Reconstruction, Presidential Reconstruction, as South Carolina struggled to accept the South's defeat in the war. Between 1865 and 1873, when the *News* was published, articles clearly demonstrated the tensions that still existed within the Charleston County through its daily newspaper issues.

---

<sup>28</sup> United States Congress, "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present," [bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104](http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104) (accessed: January 10, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Alice Fahs, *Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South 1861-1865*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2001), 19.

Therefore, access to the *Charleston Daily News* during Reconstruction allowed for a unique perspective on the attitudes and happenings of the time. During the late 1860s through 1872 newspapers were a primary source of news and coverage on matter that directly effected people. A thorough examination of the *News* ' published works revealed a heavily biased and partisan leaning that further helped and reiterated South Carolinians attitudes of Reconstruction in Charleston. The views of the *Charleston Daily News* were determined through the meticulous reading of articles that were printed on a daily basis, which expressed any form of propaganda that had the ability to reshape South Carolinian's opinions. All the evidence and support drawn within this paper was taken from the original newspaper, insuring the accuracy of the *News* ' outlooks as conveyed to the citizens of the people.

Due to the copious amount of articles written in the *Charleston Daily News*, a paper that existed during the seven-year timeframe, a methodology was established to determine which newspaper issues were to be examined. A timeline was formulated, as a way to logically gather and analyze data, which consisted of key events that occurred during the time period and had directly contributed to South Carolina's Reconstruction. This approach revealed the specific and fundamental aspects, which when examined through the *News* ' articles provided verification of the profound impact and influence the events had on the population. As the state progressed through Reconstruction, the evidence of the influence and impact of the newspaper on citizens was more clearly displayed; therefore, significant results were drawn from the analysis.

The key concepts that will be assessed throughout this piece are: the examination of the citizens' of South Carolina's partisanship ties, the state's outlook on the federal

government, and the attitudes and views on blacks. The study will look closely at any progression that evolved within the time period across the given categories, as well as the extent of which the *Charleston Daily News* held any influence over shaping the public's opinions. The study will perform an analysis of the given categories as well as the paper's use of rhetoric. In addition, the fabric of various patterns that emerge within the time period will also expose the paper's evaluation the impacts of Reconstruction on the citizens.

To determine the impact of the *News* ' on partisan ties, relation with the Federal Government and attitudes towards blacks, the paper focused on the South Carolina state elections, as well as the Presidential elections. Thus, this paper examined articles published within the *Charleston Daily News* in the weeks before, as well as after, the state and national elections. In addition, coinciding with the elections, other events such as the passage, signing and ratification of the Reconstruction Amendments (Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments), the Civil Rights Bill, Reconstruction Act (Military Bill), Enforcement Act, among many others were also studied. Similarly to the state elections, the acts were examined in the same manner through articles written weeks before and after the dates of various passed legislation. Therefore, an analysis will draw on the reporting of different events within the time period. In addition an evaluation of the rhetoric will be added as well in order to get the general feelings and attitudes of the time.

In conclusion, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the United States had engaged in a war that forever changed the course of the country. By the end of the war the United States' exited the conflict theoretically as one nation; however it was not, as

the Southern States were forced to embark on an extensive process before the “territory” was readmitted. However, despite the “unification” that ultimately bound South Carolina and the other southern states to the nation’s laws the tension that was built between the regions and the newly re-United States is one that in many areas can still be felt today especially in South Carolina.



## Chapter 2: South Carolina After the War, 1865-1872

“... And to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible...”

The pledge of allegiance speaks to what is perceived as the ideal of the United States of America, in which the country is one united nation under a unified government and bound by a single Constitution. The United States' Civil War was fought between 1861 and 1865 and tested the people of the country, the institutions of the country, and the name “United States,” in addition to the principals on which it was founded. The war pitted countrymen against countrymen, neighbor against neighbor and brother against brother. In fact, the country as it was known and as we know it today ceased to exist in the middle of the nineteenth century.

During the mid-1800s the United States was a nation separated into two distinct and established regions, the North and the South – the Union and the Confederacy – the Yankees and Rebels – the free North and the slave South – the industrial North and the agricultural South, separated by a strict invisible line segregating the two sides. A third region was emerging in the West, one that was full of promise and natural resources; a place that both the North and the South viewed with greedy eyes for opportunity and the extension of its economy and way of life. Both the North and the South were highly functioning economies and societies in each region's own respects; however regardless of the region's differences, the United States was as one unified country. Despite two section's disparities, the country was made up of separate states and regions; it was still united under one central power governed by one supreme constitution – a concept not accepted with unity nor desire by the Southern States. The majority of the citizens within

the former Confederate states resented the notion to maintain “one nation under God, indivisible” as many had not agreed with “liberty and justice for all.”

The causes of the Civil War are still not absolute even after 150 years; there are various theories that are given greater credence depending on the region of the country; was the war fought over slavery? Economics? Was it over States’ rights or Federal authority? Or was it pitted in the politics of the time? Although clear evidence can be presented that all the theories were contributing factors, and while all are valid and true, still not one mutually agreed upon definitive reason has been declared as the single cause. After four long years of war, devastation of land, families, cities, and even entire states in addition to an incomprehensible number of casualties, the Civil War ended in 1865 and the hope and vision was that the United States would once again be united as one. However, the hope of an instant reunification of the country was not the reality, as in many aspects the United States remained divided. The sectional splits and barriers needed to be knocked down and eliminated while the victorious North quickly implemented a plan to reunite the nation and to reestablish one country governed by the Constitution, a country that would once again mirror what the Founding Fathers had envisioned. Through the restructuring process, the nation began to adjust and bring together the two combatant regions by transforming industries, laws, and the accommodations for the “new” citizens of the country – the former Southern slaves who were freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. The reunification plan that was devised and designed by the country’s President Abraham Lincoln was known as “Reconstruction.” This plan to rebuild the nation consisted of three phases – Presidential Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, and Redemption – which ranged between 1865 and 1872.

The first phase, Presidential Reconstruction was designed to transition the country from war to peace, and division to unity. As the country attempted to uncover many challenges and questions – the largest being how defeated was the South, and how free were the emancipated slaves?<sup>30</sup> One of the major goals within the first phase of Reconstruction was to enable the Southern states to seek readmission to the Union and convince the Northern populous to re-grant the rights that were entitled to all states within the nation.<sup>31</sup> However, the first phase of Reconstruction quickly reached an obstacle on April 14, 1865 when President Lincoln was assassinated. Not only was the executive office momentarily vacant but the country also lost its architect of Reconstruction, Lincoln, with the immense populist power that was supposed to bring the nation together. As a result of the assassination Vice President Andrew Johnson quickly became president and even though the country was stuck by the horrid events, it became mildly accepting of Johnson, as he seemed to resemble Lincoln in his political stances and alignments.<sup>32</sup>

Andrew Johnson held very strong views that initially appealed to Southerners, as his politics seemed to reflect those of Lincoln's. In addition Johnson adamantly believed the southern regions' act of secession from the Union was traitorous. Regardless of his nationalistic view, he believed in the concept of limited government and a strict construction of the Constitution – two factors, which greatly influenced the course of Reconstruction under the new president. Despite Johnson's belief in the limited role of the Federal government and the importance of states' rights, his own reading of the

---

<sup>30</sup> David W Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) 44.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1998), 82.

Constitution led him to determine that the South had clearly violated the tenants of the Constitution. Therefore it was determined that the regions' earlier secession was illegal, and thus had allowed the states to be stripped of any and all rights. As a result, Johnson imposed ultimate authority over the Southern region through the rulings of the Federal government while he also declared the government possessed the power, which determined the states' readmission to the Union. These views impacted Johnson's implementation of Presidential Reconstruction, as he stated that the Federal government had the authority to oversee certain states' rights; he believed that each state should have its own form of government, managed by whites. Johnson did not advocate military enforcement; instead his solution was to appoint provisional governors. It was clear that Johnson's rulings influenced the newly formed Reconstruction policy, one with the main purpose of the dismantling and destruction of the slaveocracy – both politically and economically – and thus boosting the Northern yeomen.<sup>33</sup>

The Southern states reaction to the concept of Reconstruction was initially an unfavorable, however slowly became more open as Johnson expressed his views and agendas. Much of the white population of the former rebel states firmly believed the Southern lifestyle and agricultural economy – which was highly dependent on low cost slaves as its main labor force – was superior to the North's. One the loudest and most vocal critics of Reconstruction was the state of South Carolina, as it had long been a leading voice of the South dating as far back as the American Revolution. The state had, for years, been a staunch opponent to the powers of the Federal government and had always advocated states' rights as means to protect the Southern economy and Southern lifestyle. South Carolina led the South in secession during the antebellum period; and

---

<sup>33</sup> Foner, 85.

during Reconstruction the state was adamant about returning to the Southern lifestyle that had allowed the region to flourish and prosper for decades. Regardless of the South's strong desire to sustain its life style, its defeat in the Civil War provided the state with no such option. Although regardless of the restrictions, South Carolina was still able to manipulate the laws so that it slightly resurrected the state's previous lifestyle for a short time. But that resurrection was sort lived and the South suffered great anxiety as its traditional way of life, industries, and economy were abandoned and abolished by the newly imposed Northern way of life that was forced upon the region.<sup>34</sup> The Southern emotions were best expressed in a statement by Edward A. Pollard, a Southern journalist who stated, "all that is left of the South, is the war of ideas...Restoration of the Union and the excision of slavery...but the war did not decide Negro equality."<sup>35</sup>

The Southern States, South Carolina included, refused to accept that the war had been lost. They refused to acknowledge and accept the reforming of the Union, especially under Republican Party views and ideals. South Carolina has been forever blamed for igniting the spark that started the bloodiest and most painful chapter in American history. Therefore, as the phases of Reconstruction were laid out, the state began to retreat from any participation. The citizens of the region and the state refused to admit defeat and therefore made every effort in resisting the Northern images and beliefs that were being ingrained into their society.<sup>36</sup> Thus South Carolina – along with the rest of the formerly seceded South, began to fight a second war – or an insurgency (a people's war) as more commonly referred to today. The insurgency that was once again led by South Carolina

---

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought To Be*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010) 44-45.

<sup>35</sup> Blight, 51.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 32.

was fueled by the State's refusal to harmonize with the rest of the nation and was an attempt to retain control over its own destiny. It was due to this insurgency that the North realized that something needed to be done to impose an effective reunification and so; the first phase of Reconstruction was imposed over the state.<sup>37</sup>

The region held strong in the attempt to uphold its Democratic principles and retain power in the hands of the states' – a position the South steadfastly believed to be righteous as it was a primary reason for its earlier secession.<sup>38</sup> Through this position it was clear that South Carolina had not changed its views from the antebellum period and this became a point of contention in Washington, the North, and in the Reconstruction implementation. The laws throughout the South, and the rest of the country, were not the only changes during Reconstruction, the states' demographics, especially in the South – Charleston, South Carolina's biggest city, also shifted. During January and February of 1865 Charleston was reshaped as blacks moved into the city in overwhelming numbers fleeing from their lives of chains and slavery and attempting to recreate themselves in the city.<sup>39</sup> The migration to the new setting presented the Union with evidence that the war had produced real change, and it reassured South Carolina that the nation was moving forward. Although the country's progress was encouraged by the freedom for the Southern blacks, the reality of that achieved liberty was something that would not be rendered easily.<sup>40</sup> The idea of freedom for blacks was also an idea that South Carolinians refused to accept, instead the citizens responded to it by developing strategies to block that national progression. As a result of the Civil War, the formerly seceded states, South

---

<sup>37</sup> Walter Edgar, (*South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998) 378.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 377

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 379

<sup>40</sup> David R. Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004) 19.

Carolina included, were forced to face its inevitable fate of readmission to the Union and all the perceived positives and negatives that went with that destiny.

By this point South Carolina was resisting progression and the nation seemed to be caught in a stalemate until May 29, 1865 when President Andrew Johnson made a Federal ruling, one that affected the entire country. Johnson pardoned all states formerly part of the “rebellion” – the rebel South – and allowed each to reclaim its lands with the conditions that each state had to pledge its obedience to the nation under the Union ideals and would abide by the new laws.<sup>41</sup> These provisions were unsettling to South Carolina as the state was forced to accept its legal state standing within the nation, but also began losing its labor force as slaves learned of its freedom.<sup>42</sup>

Through Johnson’s Reconstruction Policy, which stemmed from the Congressional pressure, more controversy arose and ultimately laid the groundwork for the first phase of Reconstruction, Presidential Reconstruction. The policy that was proposed enacted Congress to amend and/or overturn the nation’s Constitution and put in “a Republican form of government.”<sup>43</sup> In addition, Johnson believed in the concept of conferred amnesty, which restored all property rights to the South with exception of those that extended to slaves. This notion was highly divisive and allowed Northern yeomen to shape Reconstruction even more. The policy moreover was strongly supported by the Southern elite, yet was also immensely opposed by the Radical Republicans.<sup>44</sup>

The entire political system established in South Carolina, in addition to the state’s Constitution, had been drafted and written during the antebellum period. As a result, both

---

<sup>41</sup> David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951) 562.

<sup>42</sup> Edgar, 379.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Blight, 44-45.

the political systems' structure and the Constitution were unacceptable to the War's victorious North; the region believed both challenged the core values and laws of the Union. To ensure that proper measures were taken in South Carolina, the Federal government installed special provisions for the state, such as the appointment of a provisional governor, Benjamin F. Perry in South Carolina, by President Andrew Johnson. The powers granted by the President to the newly appointed provisional governors were used in various ways throughout the Southern states. One power that was employed was patronage powers, these were used to attract support throughout the region; a second was to form a new group of government composed of South Carolina's general public, the "plain people;" and lastly the powers addressed the Emancipation Proclamation's implications on the status of blacks.<sup>45</sup> Though Perry held these patronage powers, he also was responsible for reshaping the state to ensure that South Carolina properly regained Union admittance. In addition he was supposed to resonate political support for the state and President in order to make the nation stronger.<sup>46</sup>

As South Carolina grappled with its new realities of Northern dominance, the prospect of unification under the Federal government, and the appointment provisional governors, the state also continued to struggle with reestablishment its own political system as well. Under Perry state elections were held for a new governor, the first to hold power since the war. The white population hoped that Confederate General Wade Hampton III would run, as many South Carolinians believed he embodied the Dixie South. However, to the constituents' dismay Wade chose not to run, and so Colonel James Lawrence Orr, a secessionist, ran unopposed for state Governor and claimed the

---

<sup>45</sup> Foner, 88-90.

<sup>46</sup> Wallace, 563.



title in 1865. Although Hampton had declined to run he was still favored to win over Orr, and he did receive numerous write-in votes, although in the end, Orr won and was officially given the title of the first governor of South Carolina elected after the war.<sup>47</sup>

South Carolina had to meet and impose strict new Federal criteria, which needed to be implemented throughout the state as law, in order for South Carolina to officially be recognized as part of the Union. The criteria included the elimination of the pre-requisites of property ownership one needed to hold office, the ability for people to have sovereignty over the state, and choose the members of the state's governor's office, members of the House of Representatives and member of the Senate, which the elected members would serve as leaders of the state districts and in addition, it gave the govern the power to veto laws. Most importantly however, the Federal Government strictly mandated that the state had to enact the Thirteenth Amendment throughout the nation, which abolished slavery - an aspect that stabbed at the heart of the Southern Confederate loyalists who supported a racially divided nation.<sup>48</sup> As a reaction to the force of new laws, which whites southerners felt repressed their cultural and societal backbone— they rebelled, and in the Southerners' own way, essentially fought fire with fire.

South Carolinians believed that whites and blacks were not equal, and that blacks belonged under the system of slavery. For decades blacks were the main source of labor that the rich white southerners exploited for their own benefits. Therefore, when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified and placed into law, the South feared its future as the region's whole agricultural and economic system relied on this abundant work force.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977). 23.

<sup>48</sup> Edgar, 383.

<sup>49</sup> Edgar, 383.

As a result, the amendment coupled with the white resistance, formed a new sense of racism and repressive labor that was portrayed throughout the state as “Black Codes.” These codes, or laws, were instilled throughout South Carolina with the attempt to counteract and limit any progress that blacks had hoped to make once they gained their freedom.<sup>50</sup> The newly formed Black Codes included legislation, which stated that slaves were not freedmen nor were they the equivalent of white males – they were a race of their own. The Black Codes implemented rigid restrictions that kept blacks from achieving any dreams that they had of gaining, even a fraction of, what white men had in terms of rights and lifestyle. Thus, through this method South Carolina once again de-humanized the black man and reversed the progress that had theoretically been made through the Thirteenth Amendment. Other restrictions imposed on blacks included the inability to carry firearms, strict curfews and limited travel times. In addition, blacks were put into “judicial ghettos” and banned from trade activities, which was one of the main functions of Charleston.<sup>51</sup> These Black Codes clearly distinguished South Carolina and spoke to its character and resistance toward change. South Carolinians had done everything in its power to keep the state’s institution of slavery for its own economic and agricultural purposes, which also preserved its long established lifestyles. The South resisted the progression that was mandated by the Federal Government, as it believed that the destruction of such a system – and the freedom of blacks – would be detrimental to the country.

The Black Codes were blatant forms of discrimination against blacks as the laws restricted their chance of liberty and freedom, and ultimately subjected blacks within

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 383-4.

South Carolina to a form of de facto slavery. Thus, the Black Codes, fully embraced by most of the white population, were not seen favorably by all; Governor Orr requested for the codes to be revoked as he pressed for all blacks to

Have full and equal benefit of all remedies and proceedings for the enforcement and protection of the same as white persons now have, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty, for the commission of any act or offence, than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offence.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, his request resulted in significant controversy that the Federal Government was forced to address.<sup>53</sup> The nation had attempted to transition toward equality and knew that South Carolina would be a challenge to this transition, which was the reason President Johnson had placed Benjamin Perry, South Carolina's provisional governor, into the State to help in its reshaping. However, Johnson did not anticipate that Perry to support the black codes, yet he did, as he believed such laws protected freedmen. Perry, similarly to Johnson, believed in white supremacy, and that white men who held power would protect the blacks because whites were blacks' guardians and best friends.<sup>54</sup> Perry in a news article stated:

The African has been, in all ages, a savage or a slave. God created him inferior to the white man in form, color and intellect, and no legislation or culture can make him his equal. You might as well expect to make the fox the equal of the lion in courage and strength, or the ass the equal of the horse in symmetry and fleetness. His color is black; his head covered with wool instead of hair, his form and features will not compare with the Caucasian race, and it is in vain to think of elevating him to the dignity of the white man. God has created a difference between the two races, and nothing can make him equal.<sup>55</sup>

In response to the South's clear reluctance to accept black freedom, Congress, as a measure to protect black citizens under Federal law, crafted the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. President Johnson initially had vetoed the law in 1865 when the first draft was proposed,

---

<sup>52</sup> Holt via. Daily Courier (Sept. 10, 22, 1866), 24

<sup>53</sup> Holt, 24.

<sup>54</sup> Edgar, 385.

<sup>55</sup> Holt via. Daily Courier (Oct. 1, 1866), 24

as he believed that it was unconstitutional and overstepped Federal authority and disregarded states' rights. A year later when the Second Freedmen's Bureau Bill was drafted, Johnson once again held firm in his beliefs and vetoed the second bill as well. Regardless of Southern opposition and the President's initial veto, Congress in April of 1866 again submitted a revised bill for the Civil Rights, which was approved by Congress and then passed onto the executive branch. President Johnson stuck to his views and again vetoed the bill, an action very much approved and supported by the South. However, the Civil Rights Bill was signed into law on April 9, 1866, regardless of the Presidential veto, as Congress had enacted in its ability to override the veto by a majority vote.<sup>56</sup>

Through the passage of the Civil Rights Bill it was evident that the nation's pursuit toward change was more real than ever before. In March of 1867 the First Reconstruction Act, also known as the Military Bill, was imposed throughout South Carolina and the rest of the Southern region. The Reconstruction Bill secured control over the states as it removed the state governments and created five military districts throughout the South. Each district was placed under military occupation and authority as a way to address the status of the formerly seceded states, while also attempting to control the constant rebellion of states similar to South Carolina that created Black Codes.<sup>57</sup> The result of the military regimes within the Rebel States was the destruction of the newly reestablished state governments as the military had replaced Orr.<sup>58,59</sup> The idea that the states no longer

---

<sup>56</sup> Eric Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction." *The Journal of American History*, 74, No. 3, The Constitutional and American Life: Special Issue (1987): 863-883, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1902157>

<sup>57</sup> Blight, 47.

<sup>58</sup> "First Reconstruction Act," <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1920> (accessed March 8, 2013)

<sup>59</sup> Edgar 385.

had the rights to control its own actions, and that the democratically elected Governor Orr had to relinquish his duties, did not please much of the state's population, especially Orr. Therefore, in a desperate attempt to retain his government, Orr, just before the Reconstruction Bill was approved, announced to a gathering of blacks that he instead favored male suffrage for all educated blacks – a concept that infuriated whites, though used as a tactical measure by him to rally future support for himself.<sup>60</sup>

As disdain grew throughout the South for Reconstruction, the next phase of Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, undeniably broke in to the nation's political sphere. The Republican Party had ruled Congress since the Civil War – a factor that increasingly displeased parts of the nation. Johnson, a Democrat who ran with Lincoln, a Republican, on a unified ticket, still possessed much of Lincoln's views and tried to embrace the terms of the Emancipation Proclamation. Although, in contrast to Lincoln's views, Johnson possessed an undeniable supported for the idea of a white men's government, one that limited the black's presence and influence – a concept that resonated more with his Democratic viewpoints. His views on blacks were clearly displayed when he stated that blacks should “emigrate to some other country”<sup>61</sup> – a comment that was noted and widely accepted by the more liberal Republicans whose careers, had in fact been changed by the slavery controversy. Many of these men on the left side of the Republican Party had viewed the Civil War as their “golden moment” in which they believed in national change, a concept embraced by the emerging political party, the Radical Republicans.<sup>62</sup> Members of the Radical Republicans firmly believed in black suffrage and resented Johnson's idea of a white man's government where whites

---

<sup>60</sup> Holt, 29.

<sup>61</sup> Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, 84.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 105.

managed the south as well. The foundation of the radical ideology was a nation of “equality of civil and political rights secured by a powerful and beneficial national state.”

<sup>63</sup> Therefore, by the time the new state Constitutions were sworn into law – Radical Reconstruction had begun.

Although the Civil Rights Bill was passed two years prior, there was still great concern in regard to the future of it – mainly what it stood for because of the disdain the President held toward the law. In addition, there was also great necessity for a bill to be passed that would address South Carolina’s Black Codes. Therefore, Congress, who favored the Civil Rights Bill, felt it was a great step towards rebuilding and transforming the country into the Union’s ideals. Thus, in the wake of South Carolina’s Black Codes, and while the Federal troops maintained control over the state, Congress crafted and proposed the citizenship clause to be written into the Fourteenth Amendment. <sup>64</sup> The amendment was already in the works as a nondiscrimination law, which turned into what is now known as Equal Protection. Thus, the equal protection and the citizenship clause held parallel meanings and both overruled the Black Codes; as a result the acceptance of both clauses became terms for South Carolina’s readmission. The Fourteenth Amendment, combined with South Carolina’s 1868 state Constitution, created a provision that provided public education led the State to a new problem – one that would not be solved for quite some time.

South Carolina believed that the most concerning aspect of the Fourteenth Amendment were the notions of equality, education, and the types of rights that these new citizens, blacks, held in regard to the access of schools and education. South

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>64</sup> Edgar, 384.

Carolina as a whole was a rigidly segregated state in most areas; however Charleston and Columbia were two cities in which public spaces were the most integrated. Prior to the Amendment the Federal government, in 1867, had introduced the publically funded school system, which was theoretically open to both blacks and whites. However, regardless of such a notion, blacks' were still often denied admission into the schools due to their race and the outcry for segregated schools by whites. Undoubtedly blacks' protested the blatant discrimination by the state, and so the issue was forced into the hands of the South Carolina General Assembly a year later, a council that ruled the discrimination was illegal. At this point in history, citizens of the state began to express their dismay towards integration, and so by 1868 when the Fourteenth Amendment emerged, a large majority of South Carolina whites began to slowly shy away from active and engaged public life to show their dissatisfaction with Reconstruction. Eventually Congress agreed to provide public education – an act that led to great controversy – and mandated that the act be written into the new state Constitution. The South Carolina Constitution was ratified and on July 9, 1868 the same day the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment was signed into law and adopted by the state as one of the final conditions of readmission to the Union. With such actions, and with the ideals of the nation legally put into place, the state was then re-accepted to the Union.<sup>65</sup>

South Carolina had made minimal effort to rewrite the state Constitution, largely because much of the state maintained a great amount of support toward the existing Constitution, which was created and ratified during the antebellum period. Regardless of the support, the Federal Government forced the state to rewrite it with additional provisions, ones that the state disagreed with the government on, yet had to sign into the

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 390-397.

Constitution so the state could be accepted and readmitted into the Union. On January 14, 1868 South Carolina began to craft and document its new Constitution during convention in Charleston, the citizens of the state voted on it on April 16, 1868, which combined with the federal support of rewritten document. The vote that took place had significant impact on South Carolina, it legally bound the state to enforce and enact the provisions that were adopted through the ratification of the new state Constitution.<sup>66</sup> The Constitution ruled that the state held ultimate power rather than the Federal Government, which granted the citizens of the state with the ability to elect the Governor, House of Representative members as well as Senate members. In addition, the state's constitution presented the elected governor the right to hold a veto power.<sup>67</sup> The new South Carolina Constitution clearly reiterated the strong stance the state held in the belief that states should possess the power rather than the Federal Government.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, two major pieces of law enacted, in addition to the Fourteenth Amendment, were the abolition of race as a limit to male suffrage as well as the overturning of the 1865 Black Codes. The other law stated that South Carolina would abolish debtor's prison and property ownership as qualifications to hold office, while it also granted women with some rights and created counties.<sup>69</sup>

Although the state was reluctant to change its ways, the people of South Carolina voted on the new Constitution and therefore ratified it in 1868. Immediately following the acceptance of the Fourteenth Amendment into law, some of the military troops, which occupied and ruled the state, withdraw from South Carolina as the state held elections for

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 386.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>68</sup> "Constitution of the States of South Carolina, 1868," <http://www.teachingushistory.org/ttrove/1868/Constitution.htm> (accessed March 8, 2013).

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 383-4



a new Governor of the State.<sup>70</sup> The gubernatorial election of 1868 served as a milestone for the people of South Carolina, especially the black population, as it was the first time blacks had the ability to vote in the state. The Governor elected was the Republican candidate Robert K. Scott, originally from Ohio, who was part of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina.<sup>71</sup> Through this election, it was clear that the black vote was a force to be reckoned with given the amount of influence the population had due to its large numbers. Nationally, the large pull and influence that blacks had on the polls was significant as well, the vote represented change and gave blacks, along with other races' advocates, reassurance that their role in the Civil War was not meaningless. However, southern whites, in South Carolina among other states, found that the sense of power that blacks were given, ran a little too close to the tipping point toward race receiving complete equality.<sup>72</sup> The issue of racial equality and the amount of influence the blacks proved they possessed within the state was a powerful shift that much of the white South resented and as a result, led to acts of violence.<sup>73</sup>

Violence became a constant threat to individuals, especially blacks, who lived in South Carolina as the Ku Klux Klan evolved within the state in 1868. Once the Ku Klux Klan was established violence and chaos engulfed the majority of the state; no individual seemed to be safe.<sup>74</sup> However, there were people who viewed this organization as saviors of southern society and held heroic visions of the group.<sup>75</sup> The Ku Klux Klan, partial to common belief, did not specifically and solely target blacks – however they were the

---

<sup>70</sup> Edgar, 397.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 387.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 390.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 398.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Blight, 111

majority – the acts of violence were also aimed toward various members of the Republican Party.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, a resolution to the problem had to be found quickly as the Republican Party was in control of the state and so the violence needed to be stopped before it escalated too much. The situation was taken care of when the state Governor turned to Wade Hampton III, a man who previously had turned down the nomination for Governor, to guide him. Hampton addressed the state's citizens through the newspapers and within a day the Klan had disappeared.<sup>77</sup> The Klan, in addition to mass murders, had exposed both the supremacy of the white community as well as the weakness of the Republican Party through its tyrant.<sup>78</sup>

With the passage of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, South Carolinians expressed blatant outrage over the extensive racial progression of the state. Therefore, it was no surprise that whites began to shy away from the public sphere, instead they came together and formulated a negative response outside of the public eye. White supremacy was on the rise and as the bond grew tighter, the national Democratic strategy used it to its advantage in 1868. During the 1868 Presidential election year the Democrats determined that in order to regain control of the country its platform for the campaign would speak to the feelings possessed by the white supremacists– thus, they ran its presidential campaign as one of the most racially charged platforms in history.<sup>79</sup> The election that took place in November of 1868 was between Republican Candidate Ulysses S. Grant and Democratic candidate Horatio Seymour. This presidential election was monumental as it was the first in which blacks were able to vote, a factor that would

---

<sup>76</sup> Robert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode." *The Journal of Negro History*, 49, No. 1 (1964): 34-37, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2716475>

<sup>77</sup> Edgar, 398.

<sup>78</sup> Zuczek, 58.

<sup>79</sup> Blight, 101

prove to be significant. The white supremacists within South Carolina supported the election of Seymour however; the result ultimately went to the Republicans in the final count. The state's voting pattern was largely due to the vast number of blacks who supported Grant as he ran on the Republican ticket – the political party that had given blacks their freedom. Regardless, Grant won the election through a large margin and immediately after he did, on February 3, 1870 signed the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment into law, which granted people of race, color or previous condition of servitude voting rights.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, after the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment, all states, including South Carolina were forced to add it into each state's Constitution. The amendment allowed blacks to be recognized as official citizens and gave them the legal right to vote, which also granted them power within the country.<sup>81</sup>

The Klan's presence within the State and its sudden disappearance after Wade Hampton III's statement for "preservation of order"<sup>82</sup> caused the black community much concern and uncertainty, which ultimately resulted in the reformation of the state militia in 1869 as a means of protection.<sup>83</sup> The constant fear that blacks lived with was valid and reaffirmed in 1870 when the Ku Klux Klan rose again and lasted for nearly seven years.<sup>84</sup> Throughout 1870 and into the following year, the Klan terrorized the state forcing numerous Republicans to resign from office. For South Carolina this threat of terror was especially troublesome as it was a preface to what was going to take place in the 1870 state elections. These elections, more so than prior ones, held even more political significance as there was a shift among the parties took place and a split within the

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>81</sup> Edgar, 390.

<sup>82</sup> Edgar, 398.

<sup>83</sup> Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, 122.

<sup>84</sup> Edgar, 398.

Republican Party formed.<sup>85</sup> By 1870 there was a question among the citizens of South Carolina about the Republican Party conservatives and the inquiry that it had committed fraud and corruption through intimidation, economic pressure and violence.<sup>86</sup> This question caused a split in the Republican Party, which caused much of the population to no longer promoted or associated with it, and so many joined a new movement that debuted in the spring of 1870. The new political movement was founded by South Carolinians who grew to resent the values of the Republican Party and therefore created a “Citizens Party.” The political party was formed with the intension to “put present leaders out of power,”<sup>87</sup> a cause that united people of the State and led to the substantial development of a state recognized party. The “Citizen’s Party,” known in the early stages of its development, changed its name to the “Uniform Reform Party” as it gained recognition and membership, due to the blatant call for reform and change within the state. The party gained momentum within South Carolina and entered a candidate, Richard Carpenter, to run for governor in the 1870 gubernatorial election, which took place in the fall. This new political movement became widespread throughout the state, as the major outlet for citizens not completely satisfied with their current political party – namely, the Democrats and Republicans, or the direction of the state.<sup>88</sup>

The election was between the Republican candidate Robert K. Scott and his opposition, former Democrat and now Union Reform Party candidate, R.B. Carpenter.<sup>89</sup> Ultimately Scott was re-elected as South Carolina’s governor, a victory that became significant due to the political nature of the relationship between the parties and the

---

<sup>85</sup> Shapiro, 39.

<sup>86</sup> Zuczek, 75.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>88</sup> Zuczek, 76.

<sup>89</sup> Shapiro, 39.

overall resentment each party held for the other. After the victory, the Republicans released a statement stabbing at the Union Reform Party, which stated: "...the Reform Party was beaten, on the State ticket, by a nearly solid negro vote, and not by fraud and intimidation...we should make no further attempt to pander to the negroes, and should organize thoroughly and systematically, so that we may be prepared for the next political radicalism."<sup>90</sup> Therefore the focus of the next election was to ensure that the black vote was secure as it was again demonstrated, through the election, that blacks continued to hold great influence within the polls.

The nation had once again begun to collapse due to racism and politics, some of the same issues that were associated with the Civil War. Therefore, Enforcement Acts were processed and passed as a means of protection from the oppressive and violent forms of Southern terrorism, which placed South Carolina in a state of emergency. As terror reigned across the state, Governor Scott continuously requested Federal troops to take action and provide aid to South Carolina. Finally, in April of 1871 the Ku Klux Klan Act, part of a series of three Enforcement Acts, was presented to Congress and passed in May putting a final stamp on the Klan's reign of terror.<sup>91</sup> The act ruled that any "private" acts of violence or any acts against political rights of individuals, including their right to equal protection, were punishable through the suspension of habeas corpus.<sup>92</sup> In many ways, the act served to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment throughout the state and was a means of protection without military occupation.

The Ku Klux Klan reaffirmed that racism within South Carolina still existed and the new laws that were mandated were not accepted by the whites within the state and

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>91</sup> Edgar, 400.

<sup>92</sup> Blight, 116.

therefore, were never imposed. The Klan's terror over the state also exposed the corruption within the seated Republican Party. By 1872 much of the corruption and insurgencies that the Republican Party within South Carolina had committed were uncovered and made public, which ultimately fueled the need for future Reconstruction of the state. Accusations were made about the party's failure to connect the state and the national parties as well as furthering racial acts by cutting programs that helped blacks achieve success. The claims made led to the inevitable fate of the Republican Party as it was forced to relinquish the power and control it held over the state largely through the impeachment and removal of Governor Scott from office in 1872.<sup>93</sup> With this, it was the states' belief that the Republican Party failed for two reasons, the first because it was unable to maintain power and the second was due to that inability to hold ultimate authoritative power of the nation. Such inabilities led to a lack of control by the Republicans and resulted in the failure to provide solutions to constituents' problems.<sup>94</sup>

Furthermore, the 1872 election held special meaning for the blacks as noted by Frederick Douglass who believed the election was one that called remembrance to the Civil War and the overall survival of Reconstruction within the country.<sup>95</sup> As South Carolina for years had trudged through the leadership of Governor Scott and watched the state to regress, the barriers and divisions only became deeper and more evident. South Carolina needed a change, and so a branch of the Republican Party, the Radical Republicans, nominated Charleston House of Representative member Franklin Moses as the candidate elect who would run for the office of governor of South. Moses as the new candidate for the position was not one that was universally agreed on, and the most vocal

---

<sup>93</sup> Edgar, 394-5.

<sup>94</sup> Holt, 152.

<sup>95</sup> Blight, 122.

opponent to his candidacy was former Governor Orr. The former governor, who had been in office immediately following the Civil War and had no political party alliance, believed the Republican party was too corrupt and if it continued to stay in power there would be no reform within the administration, something he believed was much needed.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, as a result of the nomination, Orr went out in opposition and created a new party, “Independent Republican Party,” one that was similar to the 1870 political party the Uniform Reform Party.<sup>97</sup>

The Independent Republican Party, founded by Orr, was an option for South Carolinians who, similarly to the former governor, believed that the Republican Party was harmful to the state. The political party served as an alternative in the election nominating Reuben Tomlinson to run in opposition to Moses. The choice of Tomlinson as a candidate was one that the whites disapproved of and as a result, made it seem as if the election was already won. Undoubtedly, in October 1872, the state election took place and Moses won with flying colors and easily-defeated Tomlinson, which meant that the Republicans continued to control the State.

The state election of 1872 was just a prelude to the events that were evolving within the nation as the 1872 presidential election was in full swing across the country. The election turned into a critical one for the nation as the National Republican Party, much like the one in South Carolina, was broken. Branches began to form out of the split in the Republican Party, which exposed the stress of Reconstruction and all of the controversies that were involved in it. The Presidential election of 1872 marked two important political shifts in United States history; primarily it demonstrated the country’s

---

<sup>96</sup> Zuczek, 125.

<sup>97</sup> United States Congress, “Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present,” [bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104](http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104) (accessed: January 10, 2013).

political system, which embraced the idea of splintering parties and third parties. During the election of 1872 the emergence of the liberal wing within the Republicans came to light. The party, the Liberal Republicans, in many ways mirrored the Democratic Party. Thus, in the election the two parties, the Liberal Republicans and Democrats fused together under the same candidate – Horace Greeley, as they united against the Republican Party candidate Ulysses Grant.<sup>98</sup> In addition, the election also marked a turn within Reconstruction, in that Reconstruction was thrown on a defensive, while it also presented the nation with the final collapse of Republican Radicalism.<sup>99</sup> The most important branch that formed in opposition to Ulysses S. Grant's Republican Party was the Liberal Republican Movement. The newly formed national party ran under the banner of honesty and liberty – opposition to corruption, in hopes of appealing to those who had wavering loyalty, or no loyalty, to the Republican Party. Furthermore the hope was that the party would provide people, were fed up with the antics of the Republican Party and wanted to leave, with more viable option than moving towards the Democratic Party. Thus, the ultimate goal was to keep the Republican Party dominant through the differing branches of Republican rule. The party specifically appealed to the Southern white supremacists and those who believed in self-government of state powers – namely the South.<sup>100</sup> The party specifically launched an attack on the Southern Republicans, as the party believed it was the source of much of the problems that haunted the Republican Party. These Republicans were blamed for fraud and corruption, two aspects that were

---

<sup>98</sup> Holt, 142.

<sup>99</sup> Blight, 127-128.

<sup>100</sup> James M. McPherson, "Grant or Greeley? The Abolitionist Dilemma in the Election of 1872." *The American Historical Review*, 71, No. 1 (1965): 43-61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1863035.pdf>



clearly demonstrated as valid claims due to the political run by Governor Scott in South Carolina.

The Presidential election of 1872 turned into a race between Republican branches, Ulysses S. Grant as the Republican candidate against Horace Greeley, the Liberal Republican Party. The choice of Greeley as a candidate was a strategic move as he was a known leader in anti-slavery throughout the North and thus, posed a question to the blacks of the South of whether to vote for him or for Grant – the man who fought for their liberty.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, much of the black community within the South was left in the cross roads unsure of which candidate would better their race and possibly award them with the true freedom that they had dreamed of for so long.

Ultimately the votes were cast and the decisions were counted, which declared that Grant would continue to occupy the executive branch of the Federal Government for another four years. South Carolina's voter majority had contributed to Grant's, which was largely due, again, to the presence and prominence of the blacks' ability to vote. As a result of the election held in the middle of Radical Reconstruction, there was much anticipation that the nation would continue its change and progression. South Carolina, immediately preceding the Civil War, had evolved immensely through the phases of Reconstruction. The state shifted from its antebellum secessionist motives, to its resistance of progression and the acceptance of the loss of the war demonstrated through its black codes and other forms of racial discrimination. In turn, the state was readmitted into the Union as the South Carolina Constitution was ratified under the revised, yet strict, national constitution and highly authoritative central government. Thus, in only

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

seven years South Carolina went from a state of rebellion to a state of great change and continued progression.

## Chapter 3: Partisanship Ties

Newspapers' provide readers with critical information about topics and events that occur in the town, state, and country as the papers provided citizens with a way to keep them up-to-date with the information necessary to make informed decisions. At face value people often view newspapers, as lists of current events however, through closer examination much more can be uncovered within the articles through the evaluation of fine print, rhetoric, and editorial undertones. Some of the clearest examples of this are found within nineteenth century newspaper, which developed its own identities, ideologies and employed a type of partisan reporting as a means of persuasion. Almost every newspaper in the era had a specific ideology, or bias, shown through its articles – some, which were so strong that the information written more closely resembled writing that was used for propaganda. The style and bias of newspapers are key and directly linked to the way in which people's thoughts were shaped around certain topics and events, which informed and influenced their actions, behaviors and stances on major issues. One prominent newspaper within South Carolina, the *Charleston Daily News*, was a prime example of the influence that newspapers could hold over a population through influential articles, especially in regard to partisanship.

The partisanship of the *Charleston Daily News*'; founded in 1865, shifted its political position as time progressed and the state went through the phases of Reconstruction. Interestingly in its early years, which were during Presidential Reconstruction, the *Charleston Daily News* was Conservative Democratic paper; on a state level it supported Conservative candidates while nationally it showed support for the Democratic Party and its candidates. Initially the people of Charleston held strong to their

belief in the Conservatives' control of the state, though as the state entered into Radical Reconstruction, the *Charleston Daily News* embraced the new phase as it changed its outlooks on partisanship. Therefore, due to the influence that the paper had on its readers, the shift in the paper's political alliances presented a large impact that was evident throughout the Charleston area.

At the conclusion of the Civil War the nation entered the first phase of Reconstruction – Presidential Reconstruction. South Carolina was left floundering and seemingly broken in the eyes of the North. Throughout the post war, the North was controlled by the Republicans who had gained complete power over the state of South Carolina, and the rest of the former Confederate States of America, with a Union victory. After the war South Carolina was at the center of a great power struggle, the state continued to battle for self-control of its own state rather than relinquishing the control to Federal government. Shortly after the South surrendered in 1865, a vacuum of power extended throughout the region's power, South Carolina's in particular, vanished and ceased to exist. As a result, fear crept throughout the state as the first signs of Presidential Reconstruction began to emerge plant its roots across the nation. However, shortly thereafter South Carolinians regained hope as local and state elections were reestablished and state power was once again granted throughout the region.<sup>102</sup> The people of South Carolina were nearly unanimous in their belief of who should take the governorship. According to most white southerners, and largely supported by the *Charleston Daily News*, the clear choice for governor was Confederate war hero General Wade Hampton III. Since the end of the war the South, South Carolina included, was immensely proud of

---

<sup>102</sup> Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 23.

the men who had fought to defend the region, therefore the state's strong support for a veteran to lead it was no surprise. The desire for Hampton to assume the governorship caused the *Charleston Daily News* to formally write and publish a letter, which asked Hampton to honor the state and accept the position as Governor. The telegraphic dispatch to the General simply stated, "A great many persons here mean to vote for you as Governor. Will you serve?" to which Hampton responded, "I have declined to be a candidate."<sup>103</sup> To the majority of white Southerners, Hampton's public decline of the nomination for state governor was a great disappointment.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, the next viable option for state governor was the long time politician and states' rights advocate, James Lawrence Orr.<sup>105</sup>

Before the war Orr served in various roles within the government and had aligned himself with the Democratic Party and firmly believed in state rights. Orr also was a strong advocate for, and had promoted, the institution of slavery – a vision that the South fought to maintain.<sup>106</sup> In 1865 after the war and the destruction of the Confederate States of America, Orr was under no political party representation, however interestingly his positions and views from after the war aligned, and were largely supported, by the people low county, an area that housed a vast majority of freed slaves.<sup>107</sup> In the 1865 election, Orr theoretically ran for the governorship "unopposed," though there was still a great sentiment to elect Hampton to the position despite his prior rejection of the nomination. The majority of the general public was less than enthused by the idea that Orr was the

---

<sup>103</sup> "Editors of the Charleston Daily News," *Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1865, 2.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> United States Congress, "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present," [bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104](http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104) (accessed: January 10, 2013).

<sup>106</sup> Holt, 23.

<sup>107</sup> United States Congress, "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present,"

new Governor of the state, yet his rise to power seemed to be inevitable. Therefore, the *Charleston Daily News* noted that if Hampton was no longer a true option and Orr was destined to occupy the governor's seat, the paper had no other choice but to advocate for Orr. The hope and intention of the paper was to spread its influence and shape the citizens' opinions into a belief that Orr was the best option for the progression of the state. The newspaper's tactic was displayed in an article published in the *Charleston Daily News* that stated,

...our people, in this first popular election for Governor, will give a hearty and general vote for the candidate from the upper country, and so inaugurate a cordial and thorough union between two sections [up and low counties] of the State. To promote and strengthen this union is the office of true statesmanship.<sup>108</sup>

And so, in November 1865 James Lawrence Orr was officially given the title Governor of South Carolina, the first to serve after the Civil War and under the control of the Federal Government. There was some speculation that if the *News* had not endorsed Orr and written the article of support, he may have lost to Hampton, regardless of the fact that Hampton was not running as he still received a large number of votes nonetheless.<sup>109</sup>

The *Charleston Daily News*' public support of Orr was done because the editors believed that if they had not supported a viable candidate the state would not be able to progress and improve. Therefore regardless of its position during the 1865 elections, by December of that year the *News* had reverted back to its moderate views and declared that now with the state's reestablished self-government South Carolina would remain strong.<sup>110</sup> The constant call for state power and the necessity of the state to regain its inevitable rights was clearly demonstrated through the *News*' partisan reporting and

---

<sup>108</sup> "Charleston," *Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1865, 2.

<sup>109</sup> Holt, 23.

<sup>110</sup> "The State Legislature – Governor's Message," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 9, 1865, 10.

support.<sup>111</sup> The impact of the *Charleston Daily News*' articles surrounding partisanship, and especially through its use of rhetoric, undoubtedly provided heavy influence throughout the citizens of the state and clearly demonstrated its feelings toward Reconstruction.

In 1866 there was a major split that occurred within the Republican Party between the Radical Republicans and the more moderate Republicans, which in many ways showed the views of the *Charleston Daily News*', and the majority of white South Carolinians', opinion on the Radical Republican Party. The editors of the paper presented the Radical Republican Party to the readers in such a harsh and negative way that it instilled a sense of fear within much of the population. Given the *News*' influence on the citizens of the state, coupled with the hatred it possessed toward the Radical Republican Party, any citizen would be hard pressed to not to be persuaded by the paper's propaganda-like articles. Many articles that were published within the newspaper possessed statement such as,

The Radical Party, seizing the Government, may desire to hold the South as tributary provinces, and does offer the plunder of the South as the principle of party cohesion; and if that party shall succeed, it will so oppress the South that it can make little difference whether it be a section or not...government established by that party...will leave to other sections of the country as little to choose whether they be of the one section of the other.<sup>112</sup>

Such articles firmly situated the anti-Radical Republican and the pro-Republican views. Through such a bold statement, there was clear evidence that the paper's sole purpose was to instill a sense of fear within its citizen in hope that they too would adopt the *News*' opinions towards Radical Republican Party. The split within the Republican Party soon became a large contributing factor toward the fate of the political system within the

---

<sup>111</sup> "Charleston," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 9, 1865, 4.

<sup>112</sup> "Our Northern Friends," *The Charleston Daily News*, March 29, 1866, 4.

Radical Reconstruction. Regardless, the *Charleston Daily News* seemed to continue its support for the Conservative politics at the state level while it continued to maintain a Democratic ideology at the national level. The paper's attitude toward the Democratic Party was shown through the support of President Andrew Johnson as much of the South, including South Carolina, favored his stance and rulings.

President Johnson's appeal to South Carolina was most visibly demonstrated in 1866 when the Civil Rights Bill was introduced. The main purpose of the bill was the protection of black's civil rights as a means of granting the race complete equality, identical to that of whites. The Civil Rights Bill of 1866 caused the majority of white South Carolinians to develop great anxiety as the bill went against every aspect of the state's social, economic, and political systems that were in place during the time period. When President Johnson vetoed the bill it brought a sigh of relief and praise throughout South Carolina as it reaffirmed maintenance of southern partisanship beliefs. Therefore, the veto created a large uproar of support for the President and his political views across the southern region, especially within South Carolina.<sup>113</sup>

The Radical Republican Party grew stronger throughout the nation, which forced the *Charleston Daily News* to address the political party, and it did so in its own particular – some might say self-serving – form of partisan reporting. The *News* presented the Radical Republicans as a party that was against the traditions and values of the South since many members supported black suffrage. In many respects the party's initial aim was to “disenfranchise the whole mass of Southern citizens who participated in the

---

<sup>113</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 32.



rebellion.”<sup>114</sup> This emphasis on black suffrage was a strategic move by the editors of the *News*, as they knew that by linking Radical Republicans with the idea of black suffrage the result would rally the state’s white supremacists against the Radical Republicans. The *News* held such strong beliefs against the Radicals that it wrote an article with the specific purpose of countering and refuting any other newspaper that might have presented the Radicals in a positive light. The *News* denounced other newspapers by stating that the other papers, which supported the Radicals, were “foolish” and unrespectable.<sup>115</sup> One statement published by the *News*, which addressed such a stance was presented to the public in an article that read, “they reflect the views of a large minority of the public, and have no occasion to resort to radical utterances for support.”<sup>116</sup> Although the *News* greatly opposed all aspects of the Radicals it did acknowledge questions about the strength and survival of the Republican Party yet, attempted to persuade citizens to align themselves with Conservative.<sup>117</sup> The *News* strongly voiced its opinion on individual’s decisions to change party alliances as it stated, “Whatever bitterness, disgusted or contempt we may feel toward those who have made us feel without cause, the iron hand of military despotism...still we submit that we are more loyal today than those who continuously traduce us.”<sup>118</sup> Again, the paper persisted in its efforts to shape the readers views through the use of harsh language as it described those who betrayed the Conservative and converted to the Radical Republican Party.

The *Charleston Daily News*’ views were clearly and explicitly expressed through articles that were written about the horrors of the Radical Republican Party. In many

---

<sup>114</sup> “By Last Night’s Mail,” *The Charleston Daily News*, May 29, 1866, 1.

<sup>115</sup> “The Argument of the Radicals,” *The Charleston Daily News*, May 29, 1866, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> “The Argument of the Radicals,” *The Charleston Daily News*, May 29, 1866, 4.

ways the impact the articles had on the citizens of South Carolina contributed to a shift within Reconstruction as the nation entered into the next phase, Radical Reconstruction. The next phase of Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, followed Presidential Reconstruction and demonstrated one of the most dramatic changes that would occur within the political sector of the country. With the turn of Reconstruction phases, positions and stances of the people within the nation began to shift, which allowed the country further progress, especially the positions and stances of politics. This progression from Presidential to Radical Reconstruction was largely a result of the *Charleston Daily News*' clear and explicit views, which were voiced through its articles as it described the horrors of the Radical Republican Party. Yet in 1867 the *Charleston Daily News* was forced to refocus and restate its partisan views as there was a sudden push to declare each Southern states' responsible for its own actions. In addition each formerly seceded state was to seek readmission to the Union, which would be achieved by following specific criteria declared by the Federal Government. Therefore, in order to take responsibility and seek readmission, each state was forced into public atonement through drafting and voting on a new state constitution, which embodied the national Republican principles, ones that contrasted with Southern, especially South Carolina's, principles.<sup>119</sup> The debate that took place as the state's constitution were drafted provided the *News* with numerous opportunities to express its views on the subject which would impact the citizen's own opinions on the matter. The *News* pushed its Democratic ideals and urged voters to go out and vote for the Democratic Party by stating,

The real object of the radical conspirators is no longer a secret. As military rule, negro supremacy, the usurpation of the constitutional powers of the executive, the destruction of the supreme court and finally the impeachment

---

<sup>119</sup> Edgar, 385.

of the President of the United State, have one after another followed the close of the war of the rebellion.<sup>120</sup>

Thus, the paper aimed to motivate people to vote in fear that the state was going to be destroyed. The paper truly believed that if the new state constitution was ratified the state would be surrendering its power to the Federal Government, which as a result would be the end of South Carolina. In the presence of such an altering event, the *News* held fast to its ideology and urged its citizens to vote against Reconstruction and the Constitution so that the state of South Carolina, as they knew it could be saved.<sup>121</sup> While the paper attempted to save the state from the Federal government it continued to portray the Radicals as evil. The *News* announced that the Radicals had begun to organize a great conspiracy, which held the ultimate goal of destroying South Carolina. And so, through these various articles it was clear that the editors hoped to influence white southern men to vote through motivation of fear that the “white man’s government”<sup>122</sup> would be destroyed if the nation turned towards the Radical Party. In turn, the Radical Republican Party, and its supporters, accused the Democratic Party of harming South Carolina. Such an accusation caused the *Charleston Daily News* reacted in defense for the people of South Carolina and stated that the state had in fact been adhering to the newly bestowed laws.<sup>123</sup>

By 1868 South Carolina was experiencing great and monumental change as the state officially held elections to ratify the state’s new Constitution. The significance of the ratification was ideally to pave a path through Reconstruction and create progress for not only the state, but the country as well. The result of the April 1868 vote had a great

---

<sup>120</sup> “The Great Conspirator,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1868, 1.

<sup>121</sup> “Vote Against the Constitution,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 13, 1868, 2.

<sup>122</sup> “Impartial Suffrage,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 18, 1868, 2.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

impact on South Carolina as the decision fundamentally determined the future course of the state in the years, decades, and centuries to come. This monumental vote and its ramifications provided the state's newspapers with the incentives to force the citizens to go out and vote. The *News*, among other South Carolina papers, acknowledged that to many citizens the vote might not bring the same excitement as other ballot initiatives had, as the state was forced to vote on something that the majority of the population had not agree on completely. However, it was crucial to the progress of state's readmission nonetheless.<sup>124</sup> The April election of 1868 not only to ratify the South Carolinian Constitution, but also included the election of a new state governor as well. Thus, the vote produced the first concrete steps that demonstrated that South Carolina was moving toward readmission to the Union. Within the 1868 elections the *Charleston Daily News* played a critical role in the voter turnout and in many ways shaped the gubernatorial race, and its result, through its partisan reporting of events that led up to the election. Although, the outcome of the election showed that the paper held less influence and power over its citizens' political opinions than initially thought, the papers powers were still substantial to the state. The state constitution was ratified and therefore progressed to the Federal Government, which ultimately allowed South Carolina's readmission into the Union.<sup>125</sup>

The *Charleston Daily News* was a major advocate for Conservatives at a state level, helped the party build popularity within the state through the continuous printing of persuasive, and almost propaganda type, articles that painted the party in positive light. The paper warned the citizens of the state that if they did not vote in alliance with the

---

<sup>124</sup> "Local Matters," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 15, 1868, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Zuczek, 50-51

paper's views the consequences would be that, "the state was silently but surely passing into the hands of the aliened and stranger."<sup>126</sup> This statement by the *News* not only showed the disdain that the paper held for the Radical Republican Party, but it also presented the readers with the fear of the unknown, an idea that since the war was unsettling for the majority of the state's citizens. Regardless of the anxiety that the *Charleston Daily News* created, the paper failed to address blacks' developed loyalty to the Conservative Republican Party – the party that much of the race associated with their freedom. The nominee for governor elect, Robert Kingston Scott, was a former Freedman's Bureau member who ran against a white supremacist William D. Porter. Therefore, with such a prominent amount of blacks combined with number of Freedmen's Bureau members within Charleston, and South Carolina as a whole, the victory of the Republican candidate was no surprise.<sup>127</sup> Regardless of the events during the state election, the *News* continued to spread its support for the Democratic Party, especially as the presidential election was later that year. The *News*' influence and stance held strong as it published the official National Democratic Convention platform in an issue to present the benefits the party would have on the country.<sup>128</sup>

With the end of President Reconstruction and the onset of Radical Reconstruction, in addition to the results the State Constitution and gubernatorial race in early 1868, South Carolina's political eyes turned toward the 1868 presidential election. The election, scheduled for November, gave the *Charleston Daily News* the opportunity to present its partisan colors to the citizens of the state even clearer. The Republican Party presidential

---

<sup>126</sup> "The Election," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 17, 1868, 3.

<sup>127</sup> Walter Edgar, (*South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998) 377, 387-388.

<sup>128</sup> "The Democratic Platform," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 8, 1868, 3.

candidate was former Union general Ulysses S. Grant, and his opponent was the Democratic Party candidate Horatio Seymour. The *News* demanded that the National Republican Party present a candidate who had a strong broad based platform so that voters had the ability to make decisions.

Men vote on principle here, and if anybody thinks that a mere military record is going to win on the Reserve he's mistake. The best Republicans in the State will stay home. They don't care for shoulder straps, but they do care for straight Republican Principles and they won't have any other. General Grant, without a platform and without a pledge, can't more than carry the Reserve. A pronounced Republican will get fifty thousand majority; that's just the difference between availability and principle in coming fight, and men who purpose to cram a no-party candidate, or a no-principle candidate, down our throats, may as well make a note of it. And I think it is a great mistake to suppose that a mere military reputation can win anywhere in the next election. Recent elections show that the cry won't avail any longer....If Grant wants the Presidency let him come out like a man and say which side he is on, and if he's strong enough on our side we'll elect him. But it is neither wise nor necessary for us to run an availability candidate. We will have the Southern States reorganized by that time, and they will vote right. Then we can rely on enough Northern States to insure the election of our man, whoever he may be.<sup>129</sup>

The paper called for the Republican candidate, Grant, to voice his beliefs and present his platforms' information; in addition the paper wanted Grant to stand on a solid platform rather than purely his military background. The editors of the *News* suggested, in their articles, that paper held impartial view of the candidates as it called for Grant to present his stance on issues; however, the *News*' election coverage hardly demonstrated an unbiased approach. The manner in which they demanded the information be presented had underlying meaning, which in many ways could easily cause South Carolinians to question the credibility of the Republican candidate. Thus, there was clear evidence that the *Charleston Daily News* used articles to shape the minds of its readers as it attempted to illustrate that the Republicans did not pick a viable candidate for President.<sup>130</sup> Once again, the *News*' bias writing was unsuccessfully translated at a state or national level as

---

<sup>129</sup> "Old Ben Wade: Shoulder Straps Won't Do," *The Charleston Daily News*, November 12, 1867, 1.

<sup>130</sup> "The Democrats and General Grant," *The Charleston Daily News*, November 12, 1868, 1.

Grant was elected President of the country. Regardless of the outcome, the *Charleston Daily News* continued to print articles that spread its bias views as it maintained hope of influence.

With the Republican Party holding power nationally as well as within South Carolina itself, there was clear resentment held by the white South Carolinians, which was demonstrated through the *Charleston Daily News*' articles and coverage. For two years a Republican governor had ruled South Carolina and over those years a strong sense of disapproval emerged within the state. Therefore, by 1870 a movement of change developed in South Carolina to expel the Republican Party. At the same time, the Union Reform Party (known more commonly as the Reform party) suddenly broke out and began to materialize, with force, as a new political party.<sup>131</sup> The new party mostly consisted of educated, middle class men whose political ideology was between the Radicals and Conservatives. The Reform Party supporters were advocates of tradition and progress within the state, they believed in the Radicals activist efforts, yet also supported the ideas of laissez faire, free trade and moral principles. Thus, the Reform Party was clearly a representation of change as it was combining the two major parties' ideas.<sup>132</sup> As the state's parties began to change so did the partisan stance that the *Charleston Daily News* had held since the beginning of Reconstruction. Earlier in 1870 the *News* had reported on the issue that Radicals had and had blamed them for countless mishaps.

For ten years, the Radicals have overthrown every law that opposed their designs. They have imprisoned, released, disenfranchised, enfranchised, taxed and bullied who they please. They have threatened the Chief Justice, snubbed the President, confiscated the telegraph offices, seized the accounts of firms and companies, and ravaged and rampaged in every direction. Now that a new party is soon to come into power, what is to prevent some of these

---

<sup>131</sup> David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 580.

<sup>132</sup> Blight, 122.

lawbreakers....Unless the citizens' party prevails in our country, no law remains.<sup>133</sup>

The Reform Party was formed for people who were unable to fully align themselves with either the Radical Republicans or the Conservative Republicans.<sup>134</sup> The new party that was declared and promoted within the newspaper consisted of blacks and whites, anti-radicals, democrats and republicans; essentially it was composed of men in the state who held negative feelings toward the current state politics.<sup>135</sup> The party “calls for the united energies of every man in the State – indeed throughout the South, who regards the protection of ‘life, liberty, and property’ essential conditions to the ‘general welfare of the people.’”<sup>136</sup> The formation of the new party within South Carolina correlated with the shift in the *Charleston Daily News*’ political ideology as the paper urged the population to join the support of the Reform Party.

The Reform Party within the state gained great momentum throughout 1870 and showed its newly founded influence in October of that year when the state elections for governor, among other offices, were scheduled. At the same time, the South Carolina Republican Party, namely the Scott administration, was under harsh scrutiny for not satisfying the standards of the people of the state. In fact the party was blamed for the destruction of South Carolina, as there was speculation of fraudulent activities that had taken place while the Scott administration was in office. In addition the state had collected a substantial amount of debt and had failed to pass what were perceived as necessary acts, such as the land commission.<sup>137</sup> As demonstrated through articles such as

---

<sup>133</sup> “Gutta-Percha,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1870, 2.

<sup>134</sup> David W Blight, *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 122.

<sup>135</sup> “Our Own Party,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1870, 2.

<sup>136</sup> “The Citizen’s Party - A Heart God-Speed From a Sister State.” April 2, 1870, 2.

<sup>137</sup> “Fatal Admissions,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 6, 1870, 1.



these, the tactic that the *Charleston Daily News* used combined horror and fear that was directed toward the current government, both state and national. For those who read the *News*' articles it was difficult to mistake the paper's partisan stance; however, regardless of each individual's personal views, it was hard not to be influenced by such strong articles. Thus, with so much confusion and uncertainty within the state politics, the *News* took these events and manipulated them as a way to push its own agendas onto the people. The ultimate hope and goal of the paper was to change the citizens' views and align them with its own – a faithful attempt to further push South Carolinians, both white and black, away from the Republican Party. The *News* exposed the Republican Party's corrupt practices in an effort to appeal to its readers and shift their outlook, specifically the blacks, who had once associated the Republican Party with their freedom. The *News* acknowledged the importance of the black vote as it targeted blacks and attempted to shift them away from the Republican Party through both fear and resentment. One tactic used by the paper was through the denouncing of blacks' freedom, the paper stated that the emancipation was a term that the Republicans only agreed with because it was tied into the war negotiation agreements, thus suggesting that there was a lack of true acknowledgement of the race as human beings. The purposes of these claims by the *News* were aimed to offer a form of reconciliation to the blacks within the state. The article demonstrated that whites acknowledged the importance of the black vote throughout the state, ultimately recognizing them as people who were vital parts of the community.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, the newspaper created distress and panic over the people within the state as it tried to reshape their minds within a political realm.

---

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

The propaganda tactics that were used by the *Charleston Daily News* continued for much of October 1870. As the elections grew closer, the language and tactics used by the newspapers to influence its state constituents grew to be more aggressive. The message that the *News* continuously shed onto the public was that the Republican Party was corrupt. Such a message opened an opportunity to instill positive beliefs of the Reform Party upon the public as a way of strengthening opposition toward the Radicals. The *News* had a large influence on white South Carolinians' lives, thus combined with the large impact that blacks had on elections, provided the *News* with the ability further spread its opinions and impact more people. In one article the *News* published a freestanding passage in the middle of the page, which read,

Besides, the Reformers admit and affirm the civil and political equality of all citizens of the state, without regard to race, color or previous condition. Is not that and honesty enough?...Every man who desires an economical administration and low taxation must, if in his sense, actively support the Reform Party.<sup>139</sup>

The *News* actively attempted to gain all the Reform Party support it could as demonstrated through the published an article called "Plain Talk," which was simply and editorial where the editor closed his remarks with "We can win this election."<sup>140</sup>

As demonstrated, for years the *Charleston Daily News* had adamantly expressed its partisan views; however, during the 1870 elections the paper also demonstrated its influential power and its dramatic shift in position. For months the *News* had produced a constant flow of suggestive materials that pressured the public to reconsider the political views and support. No article however was more effective and influential than a letter published from General Hampton, a man idolized by the state. In the letter Hampton promoted the membership and support of the Reform Party while he also denounced

---

<sup>139</sup> "The Charleston News," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 7, 1870, 2.

<sup>140</sup> "Plain Talk," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 10, 1870, 2.

Governor Scott and his Republican Party. Ultimately, Hampton declared that, “Governor Scott has broken faith with men,”<sup>141</sup> which was a clear display of his disdain for the current Governor. As a result, Hampton set forth a platform that urged the public to create a change in South Carolinian politics. Hampton accused Scott of making false promises to the state of South Carolina in which he raised hopes and then failed to follow through with them. Specifically, Hampton accused Scott of failing to achieve the pledges he had made during Scott’s campaign:

...he made the following pledges: First. That he would use his influence to make the State go Democratic. Second. That he would endeavor to induce a sufficient number of the colored members of the Legislature to resign, so that the whites might secure a strong representation in both houses. Third. That he would appoint to office, whenever he could do so, such men as were recommended by the Democratic party. And fourth. That he would issue a proclamation commending the action of the executive committee, and calling on his party to exercise the same spirit of conciliation and forbearance as the Democratic Party had been urged to do in the address of their executive committee...<sup>142</sup>

The letter published held great significance, it clearly and succinctly demonstrated Scott’s failures, therefore Hampton promised the public that the Reform Party represented “a new era of honesty and justice will draw upon South Carolina.”<sup>143</sup> He announced to South Carolina that if the state voted against Scott and instead voted for the Reform Party, a new era of hope and promise would be upheld.

As the 1870 elections approached the *Charleston Daily News* issued constant reminders for the public to vote as it declared that it was every citizen’s duty to vote as the elections were the public’s opportunity to have a voice and take control of the country. At the same time the paper continuously promoted its biased, partisan political propaganda in its support of the Reform Party. The paper published various excerpts,

---

<sup>141</sup> “Hampton’s Letter,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 10, 1870, 1.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> “Our Standard Bearer,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 10, 1870, 1.

which attempted to sway the readers' political stances with reasons as to why individuals should vote against Scott and for the Reform Party; one passage stated, "Governor Scott told Mr. James G. Gibbes that the Ohio elections were carried at one time by stealing the tickets of the opposite party and printing similar ones; and advised him to get and imitate the Radical tickets here, with the view of defeating his (Governor Scott's) own party."<sup>144</sup> These types of articles and excerpts were found throughout most of the *News*' issues throughout the candidates' campaigns and during the elections. During this time South Carolina's political news dominated the newspapers, all other news was virtually ignored. As the election neared, the *News* more aggressively pushed for the Reform Party as it provided the public with stronger information about the party and reassured them that the Reform Party was not associated with the Radicals. One approach and strategy used by *News*' was persuasion as the paper highlighted people – true South Carolinians – who had dedicated years of their lives to the Republican Party yet, had recently shifted their support to the Reform Party. An example of such testimony was found in a published letter within the paper written by a man named B. Odell Duncan. In this letter he stated:

...I cannot judge at this distance of the prospects but I hope for the success of the 'Reformers.' I am opposed to the present administration because 'incompetent,' 'corrupt,' and 'extravagant,' and because 'reform is greatly needed.' I am in favor of the "Reformers" because their principles are Republican, and because there 'is no issue except reform.' I believe in Judge Carpenter the State would have an able and honest Governor. I believe that more would be done for the education of the colored race than by the present administration. I believe justice would be better secured to them by having a more competent set of magistrates and subordinate officials. I believe, with the election of Carpenter, the fomentation of discord between the two races would cease, and that they would live together in peace and harmony, to the great gain of both, but more especially of the colored race. I am perfectly well aware that, in taking this position, I am subjecting myself to denunciation by a certain set of men as traitor &c. but by advocating the principles of the Republican party in '67 and '68 when it was not without danger in my section of the State to do so, I think I proved sufficiently that I was not to be moved from the course I considered right by denunciation or danger. I am a Republican, and expect to

---

<sup>144</sup> "The Charleston News," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 11, 1870, 2.

remain so. I do not consider it my duty as a corrupt, merely because they can claim the 'regular' party nomination...<sup>145</sup>

Duncan's testimony was to clearly demonstrate that the Reform party was truly a fusion of the two political parties. Duncan's testimony further verified that the Reform Party brought together, what was perceived as, the better of the two traditional parties and blended them into one clearly superior party. In many ways the Reform Party was much like the Republican except it was true and honest with uncorrupt views that were dedicated to the restoration and improvement of the states.<sup>146</sup>

In the issue prior to the election, *Charleston Daily News* made some final remarks, which it hoped would resonate and stick in the minds of South Carolinians so when they went to the polls the only ideas they could recall were the words printed by the *News*. The paper printed an article entitled "Then and Now" which included the following swaying piece,

In the olden time a Governor in South Carolina was elected from among her best citizens...The office of the Governor was usually bestowed by a grateful people in reward for distinguished service. The candidate was, in nearly every instance we can recall, a fit representative of the state in all that her people valued most highly....Robert Kingston Scott became the unworthy successor of this long roll of wise and virtuous Governors....We do not know exactly for which his numerous distinguished qualities his Excellency was elected, but we knew it was not for his virtue, nor for his intelligence, not for his education....We shall take good care this week to see that the place that no knows him shall not know him much longer.<sup>147</sup>

This article demonstrated the clear partisanship and the *News*' blatant attempt of persuasion and what it hoped would force the reader to reevaluate their own political ideologies and achieve the result at the ballot box that they favored.

In a further effort to influence the vote, the *Charleston Daily News* acknowledged the potential power the black vote, as demonstrated in both the state and presidential

---

<sup>145</sup> "A Home Thrust," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 15, 1870, 1.

<sup>146</sup> "An Honest Radical," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 17, 1870, 2.

<sup>147</sup> "Then and Now," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 17, 1870, 2.

elections of 1868, and reached out directly to blacks through an attack on the state's political powers. The *News*, published excerpts aimed at blacks that said, "Do you remember that promise of forty acres and a Mule? Then vote for Carpenter and Butler!" (Reform Party candidates).<sup>148</sup> The most direct outreach the *News* made was an article written specifically for the black audience, and those who supported the black race, it was entitled, "Friends of the Colored People,"

In 1868, Governor Scott, with one breath, told the colored people that, if the Democrats won the elections, they would re-establish slavery, and with the next breath, he told General Wade Hampton that he would use all his influence to make the State go Democratic.... Scott, with a heart of stone, hounded on the officials, and stripped the poor colored men of their furniture and their stock.<sup>149</sup>

The article portrayed the passion of the *News*' writers in their opposition of Governor Scott as they created fear among blacks if any they voted for Scott. The threat of slavery mentioned in the piece was an aggressive tactic, yet it was effective as blacks refocused and re-examined the candidates and their policies and platforms.

The enthusiasm that the *Charleston Daily News* sought to generate around the elections was clearly demonstrated within various newspaper articles; the paper published a step-by-step guide to the voting process, which ended with the last step that stated, "Vote the entire regular ticket of the Uniform Reform."<sup>150</sup> The *News* took every opportunity that it had at its disposal to relay its partisan stance to the public in its attempt to influence the outcome of the election.

While the *Charleston Daily News* was loyal to its new partisan view, in the editions leading up to the election, the political outlooks of the paper was never more clearly on display than on Election Day itself. The *News* ran a piece that was a letter that

---

<sup>148</sup> "Our Duty," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 17, 1870, 2.

<sup>149</sup> "The Friend of the Colored People," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1870, 2.

<sup>150</sup> "To-Morrow," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1870, 2.

supposedly was a response to General Wade Hampton's harsh comments and claims against Scott that appeared in prior issues. However, the *News* stated that due to some unforeseen circumstances the letter had been lost and it was unable to be printed until after the election. Through such an act the *News* was able to secure its influence over its readers and undoubtedly, this manipulative tactic was used to assure that the *News*' political influence would dominate the voters' minds at the polls. After the paper published the article about the lost letter, the editors of the paper crafted an additional article in order to add their own input, they stated, "the final complete overthrow of the vampires, for five years past, have been fattening on her substance, depends upon your earnest, resolute and united action during the next twelve hours. The victory is within our reach, and our enemies know and feel it."<sup>151</sup> In addition to those two articles, the entire paper was filled with anti-Scott administration and pro-Reform Party writing as a way to further influence citizens and thus voters.<sup>152</sup>

For a few days after the election, the *Charleston Daily News* continued to praise the Reform Party and the citizens of Charleston, as county votes were tallied and slowly reported, rumors began to spread about a Reform Party victory. These rumored and early results of the election suggested that the *News* had an influential pull over the people of South Carolina as the Reform Party candidates Carpenter and Butler were elected into office.<sup>153</sup> The Reform Party held fast and true to the people of the state during the elections and ultimately sustained the victory that, according to the *News*, was much needed. The larger result of the election was the reestablishment of hope among the citizens and an optimistic view of South Carolina's future.

---

<sup>151</sup> "To-day!," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 19, 1870, 2.

<sup>152</sup> "The Charleston Daily News: October 19, 1870," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 19, 1870, 1-4.

<sup>153</sup> "Importance of the Governor's Office," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 19, 1870, 2.

The *Charleston Daily News*' partisan influence was clearly demonstrated in 1870 elections where it chose to support neither major political party and instead supported the candidates from a new political party. By the next gubernatorial election, held in 1872, the *News* felt that South Carolina was faced with extremely poor candidates and thus faced what they called a "Hobson's Choice." The position of Hobson's Choice was defined as, "an apparently free choice when there is not real alternative and...the necessity of accepting one of two or more equally objectionable alternatives."<sup>154</sup> The paper claimed that as Radical Reconstruction progressed there was a distinctive shift in the national political parties and the Radical Party emerged nationally with great prominence and support. In an article of "Plain Talk" in the *News*, the sentiment was expressed that "the Conservatives were united; now they were divided...the Conservative were thoroughly organized; now they have no organization...if that vote could, by a miracle, be obtained, the conservative ticket would not be successful."<sup>155</sup> Therefore the *News* strongly voiced its view that South Carolinian's were faced with a "Hobson's Choice" for governor. The *News* believed that the Conservative ticket was corrupt and it disagreed with the Radical ticket, therefore the support of either party would result in the ruining of the common man of Charleston – the merchant, the tradesmen, the mechanic.<sup>156</sup> As a result, the *News* saw no other choice than to vote against all parties as a way to preserve Charleston, and in a radical move, decided to create its own ticket. In an article published by the paper to advocate the "Hobson's Choice" vote, the editors wrote,

---

<sup>154</sup> *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. 11th ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 2003. Also available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

<sup>155</sup> "Plain Talk," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 11, 1872, 2.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*



The position of the News is this: A Democratic or Conservative ticket, in Charleston County, cannot be elected; because the aggregate Radical vote is more than double the aggregate Conservative vote. Unless, therefore the Conservatives vote for the best candidates of the two radical factions, one or the other of the "Straight" Radical tickets must be elected. A selected ticket is better than either "straight" ticket. The News, therefore, chose the least objectionable men from the Radical tickets, and now urges the Conservatives to vote this selected ticket, known as Hobson's Choice. These nominees are not what the Conservatives ought to have; but they are the best that the Conservatives, under the sad circumstance, can get. The Hobson's Choice ticket was made up without the knowledge of a living soul other than the editors of this paper. No candidate, nor the friend of any candidate, knew what it would be. At its back is no radical or democratic politician. It stands upon its own merits, and upon the arguments, which the news advances in its support. Its success or its failure now lies with the people. The news has no ward clubs, no committees, no table keepers. It relies on the people, and proposes to give them a fair chance of smashing the Charleston Ring, by electing the best defeating the worst Radical candidates. For Hobson's Choice this paper claims only this merit, that it gives the county a better representation than can be had in any other way. The news is forced to do its own canvassing, in this strait, and will send out the following ticket, in every copy of the paper issued in Charleston County on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday... This is best the news can do. It gives its advice frankly, and furnishes the means for carrying that advice into effect.<sup>157</sup>

Attached to the article was more propaganda as the editors listed every position that would be on the ballot only to be followed by "....." in place of the candidate's name.<sup>158</sup> Therefore it was evident that the *News* heavily and actively promoted this ticket of "Hobson's Choice" to its Conservative readers with its experienced partisan political machine.

The *News*' support of the "Hobson's Choice" ticket was very apparent in the majority of newspaper issues published in October of 1872, spread throughout nearly every page were blocks that stated "Hobson's Choice." Such inserted texts served as reminders and were in addition to the numerous and persuasive articles about the benefits of "Hobson's Choice." The paper made abundant appeals to the largely conservatively state, as they told the people

Conservative Citizens of Charleston! For the first time since the adoption of the reconstruction constitution, you have opportunity of securing a

---

<sup>157</sup> "Hobson's Choice," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1872

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

substantial improvement in the character of your country officers and your representatives in the General Assembly of the State....Think of the ways in which the affairs of the Country have been managed. Ponder the fearful waste of money...you cannot afford to be controlled by sentimental consideration...voting for Hobson's Choice!<sup>159</sup>

The *News* again was very astute, as it again targeted the black community because it knew its votes would also make a difference. The paper published an article, similar to one it had printed during the election of 1870, which called for the black vote in the election. The title of the 1872 piece was "A Black Man's Advice" and it was taken from Missionary Records as a strategic move to further gain the blacks support and trust. The piece stated,

We concede to everyone the right to form their judgment of the men who are placed in nomination by any party, and to urge the election of such as they regard as the best qualified to assume those important obligations.... The Conservatives, being in the minority, can never accomplish that end while they stand off from the colored men who are anxious to bring about the necessary reforms.... The movement of the Hobson's Choice is a sure needle pointing toward the pole of future harmonization. It is a proper recognition of the progress of events, and the future will do justice to the efforts which are being made to bring about the desired end of good government, and a happy relationship among the people of this Commonwealth.<sup>160</sup>

Thus, the passage in the *News* advocated for the "Hobson's Choice" ticket, which urged blacks to vote in direct alignment with the partisan views held by the paper. As blacks continued struggle for status and true freedom, the hope of a compromise between the political parties became a fundamental concept that pulled the support of many citizens toward the direction of voting "Hobson's Choice." Therefore, the *News* began to secure the black vote, which strengthened the possibility of a "Hobson's Choice" victory within the county and state. However, regardless of the influence the *News* had on Charleston County, Franklin J. Moses, a Radical Republican, ultimately won the election and as a

---

<sup>159</sup> "A Word in Season," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 14, 1872, 2.

<sup>160</sup> "A Black Man's Advice," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 15, 1872, 1.

result great dismay developed throughout the county. The response by the *News* was expressed through an editorial statement made in a paper published in November:

But governor Moses may rest assured that there is a deep-seated determination within the ranks of his own party, among the most intelligent of the colored race, to utterly forsake every man who shall hereafter betray the true interests of the State, and by uniting with their white fellow citizens, seek to reconstruct the commonwealth upon a different and more enduring basis.<sup>161</sup>

South Carolina's state election was not the only important election to occur during the fall of 1872; another heated presidential election was taking place as well. The spread in popularity of the Radical Republican Party within the state forced the *Charleston Daily News* to continue to try and spread its influence and viewpoints to its readers in order to ensure the election of the Liberal Republican and Democratic Party candidate, Horace Greeley. Greeley ran under a newly formed Liberal Republican Party, which was formed in opposition to the recently alienated Radical Republican and Republican parties who came together in 1872 to support the election of Grant. This faction of the Republican Party nominated its own candidate Horace Greeley – shortly after the Liberal Republicans nominated Greeley. The Democrats party extended its official nomination as well.<sup>162</sup>

There was strong opposition to the Radical Republicans in many parts of the nation and in certain part of the state. The *News* was strongly opposed to Radical Republicans, yet was open to the Liberal Republicans who, in many ways, held Democratic values, which the *Charleston Daily News* continued to support. Therefore, the *News*, once again, ramped up its partisan reporting, editorials, and published articles as it made the intentions of the Liberal Republicans clear. The paper published the article to ensure that citizens would not be confused by the Democratic Party's alliance and

---

<sup>161</sup> "Our Next Governor," *The Charleston Daily News*, November 4, 1872, 2.

<sup>162</sup> Blight, 125-128.

therefore, would continue to vote along with the party advocated for by *News*. One article stated,

The liberal movement, it must be remembered, is still in its infancy. Based upon the broad principles of right, honesty and justice, it may for a time encounter checks and reverses, but it will surely triumph in the end. Meantime it is the duty of every citizen who is in sympathy with its aims, to give it that moral support which has vote and example carries with it. The people of the South, for whose relief the movement was in great measure organized, and most especially the people of plundered and oppressed South Carolina, owe it to themselves and to their political friends at the North to leave nothing undone to show that they appreciate and will earnestly cooperate with the efforts made in behalf of their suffering section. The reign of hatred, misrepresentation and wrong cannot endure forever; and if the Southern people but exhibit a proper disposition now to put their own shoulders to the wheel and help themselves, they may be assured that, whatever the issue of the Presidential conflict, their final deliverance is not far off.<sup>163</sup>

The *News* continued to advocate for the Democratic, or Liberal Republicans, through articles that explained the horrible fate of the state if citizens did not vote this ticket. The *News* explained much of the Liberal Republican vote would be one against radicals of the state,

This is no time for heroics. A Greeley and Brown electoral ticket is before the people of South Carolina, and it is their duty to vote that ticket at the polls to-day. This they owe to themselves, no less than to the benevolent old man whose kindly heart is all aglow with sympathy with this sorely afflicted State. But if the Conservative citizens of South Carolina have not already resolved to show, but their action to-day, that they earnestly desire reunion, reconciliation and peace, no words of ours, at this eleventh hour, will give them the farsightedness they need.<sup>164</sup>

Therefore, the paper stated that there was a dire need for all South Carolinians to vote for Greeley in the national election in order for him to successfully gain the presidency. To further the influence against casting any votes for Grant, the *News* on Election Day directly associated the Grant administration with the Radicals – and specifically with the failed meeting that was held in Charleston among its supporters. The meeting the *News* reported on partially failed because of the lack of money, in addition to interest and

---

<sup>163</sup> “A Last Word,” *The Charleston Daily News*, November 4, 1872, 2.

<sup>164</sup> “Vote for Greeley,” *The Charleston Daily News*, November 5, 1872, 2.

enthusiasm – thus, the *News*’ message seemed to portray that the radicals could not be competent enough to rule the country, if a fraction could not even rule the state.

Regardless of the negative messages and associations with the Republican Party and specifically the Grant administration – the influence of the *News* was not enough and the Republicans defeated the Liberal Republicans/Democrats. The loss of the election was not widely accepted throughout Charleston, the *News* also it resented as the paper watched its influence over the citizens of South Carolina wane as the political parties it supported lost the election and the opposite parties were elected.<sup>165</sup> Therefore with the election over and the clear loss of meaningful influence, the *Charleston Daily News* began to dwindle and less than a year later stopped publishing all together under the *Charleston Daily News*’ title, signifying the end of an era.

Even though the *Charleston Daily News* had not always support the winning candidates and tickets and it eventually dissolved, for many critical years during Presidential Reconstruction and Radical Reconstruction the *News* held great influence in Charleston and in South Carolina politics. It provided a voice for many citizens and provided though provoking opposition to the more popular and well-financed Radical Republicans. The *Charleston Daily News* in the beginning, under Presidential Reconstruction, had strong partisan ties to the traditional and conservative parties as it supported the Conservatives in the state front and the Democratic in the national. However, as the state progressed and the nation entered the second phase of Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, the *News* began to reevaluate its partisan ties. Therefore, by 1870 there had been a clear and present shift in political stance of the paper on a state level expressed by articles within that paper. As the Radical Republicans

---

<sup>165</sup> Edgar, 401.

gained momentum and power, which translated into national politics especially in 1872, the paper also demonstrated the more prominent shift within state politics and slightly in national as well supporting parties opposing radicals - in South Carolina itself “Hobson’s Choice” and nationally the Liberal Republicans. Although the influence of its partisan ties were not reflected onto the public as it intended, the *News* still continued its attempt to shape citizens’ opinions until the papers merger in 1873.<sup>166</sup> The *Charleston Daily News* provided a voice to those who believed that states should determine its own future and while not for altruistic reason engaged the black community in the electoral process. The *News* provided a vital function for the citizens of South Carolina as it made its way from secessionist state to re-admittance to the Union and provided them with a means to participate in the democratic process.

---

<sup>166</sup> Library of Congress, *Chronicling America Historical American Newspapers 1836-1922*: “The Charleston Daily News 1865-1873” (Charleston; Dawson and Riordan), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026994/>

## Chapter 4: The Relationship with the Federal Government

For decades South Carolina and its white citizens held clear disdain for the United States Federal Government. Before the Civil War, the citizens argued that South Carolina and other states should be allowed to determine its own course within the constraints of the United States Constitution. Many felt that the Constitution gave the states the right of self-determination, which therefore allowed Southerner's to maintain its unique economy, its unique society and its unique way of life. The South had taken the drastic step of seceding from the Union and then, a year later, the region fought to continue to control its own state. However, as the war dragged on for four years, the South slowly watched its' known world slip through its fingers. The South's ultimate defeat, at the hands of the Union North, forced Southerner's back into the world it adamantly opposed during the antebellum period.<sup>167</sup>

Southerners adamantly believed that the North was unable to see and comprehend the superior way the Confederate States ran its politics and states. The southern states thoroughly believed that the region's governmental approach of statehood and federation power was a better than the Northerner's approach. The South called for a decentralized role of government because it benefited the Southern states in self-determination and self-government, which were two reasons for the region's early secession. However, the South was defeated and therefore, forced to return to the centralized rulings of the Federal Government.<sup>168</sup> Regardless of the South's bitter feelings towards the Union and the Federal Government, the region still held a fraction of hope that the President would

---

<sup>167</sup> David R. Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 1-2.

<sup>168</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 1-2.

recognize the benefits that the South displayed during its secession and as a result, the region hoped it might be allowed to continue some level of statewide control over its land.<sup>169</sup> That hope and optimism was nothing more than the South's desire to return to normalcy, a wish that never became a reality.

Southern emotions about the post war events could be described in one word, complex. These complex emotions are depicted through the newspapers of the time through reports and editors' own crafted opinions and outlooks of many people – many of who opposed almost everything about the Federal Government. The opposition was best found through the in depth examination of a single newspaper, *The Charleston Daily News*, and while its partisan politics changed the paper held constant its opposition to the Federal Government, as it was controlled by the Republicans. As stated, initially much of the population within South Carolina hoped that the Federal Government would allow the state to resume some control over its politics and culture. Regardless of the devastation that the war had brought on the people of Charleston and the state of South Carolina, the *Charleston Daily News* declared in an article “our fortunes are entirely manageable, if under our own control.”<sup>170</sup> The South, for an extended period of time, held onto the hope that the lifestyle it had established throughout the region before the war would not change; the *Charleston Daily News* even reassured its readers that it would be persevered. One issue stated,

We have fearful losses to make up, depressions and embarrassments to overcome; but we have fertile fields, products of surpassing value, a state of society singularly pure and elevated in its moral tone with abundant labor, it is scarcely possible that our land will not bloom and brighten.<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1865, 1.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.



Regardless of the Southern optimism, it became increasingly clear that the South would be subjected to change, and that people would have to accept the region's new fate. As a way of instilling this reality into people's minds, the *Charleston Daily News* printed a letter from Lewis M. Ayer, a planter and supporter of the Southern Confederacy, in which he discussed the life-altering place the South had fallen into as a result of the Civil War.<sup>172</sup> The letter written by Ayer addressed the major issue that each Southern state was struggling with, a lack of control over its own state and people. Ayer plainly stated that the region was at a point where it had to choose between "two evils"<sup>173</sup> in order to survive. The first option that the South had was to remain "conquered"<sup>174</sup> resulting in the continuous rule by the "brawling unprincipled demagogues"<sup>175</sup> in the North – a fate that horrified South Carolina. The other option for the South, according to Ayer, was for the state to be controlled by the laws implemented by the President of the United States. Ayer found the latter to be the more viable option and expressed that in the letter that was published for the citizens of South Carolina. He explained the reason why the state should follow his ideas and provided evidence for his choice to support President Johnson. Ayer believed that the support of the President, a Union Democrat, meant that the South would indirectly gain a secured balance of power. In addition, given Johnson's political party alliance, there was reason to believe that the issue of black suffrage and equality would remain without any drastic changes.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>172</sup> "Lewis Malone Ayer, Jr.," [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis\\_Malone\\_Ayer,\\_Jr.](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_Malone_Ayer,_Jr.) (accessed March 9, 2013).

<sup>173</sup> "To the Voters of Charleston, Colleton, Beaufort, and Barnwell District – Second Congressional District of South Carolina," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 26, 1865, 2.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

The goal of the Civil War was to reunite the country; therefore, the North acknowledged the importance of the South's remittance to the Union yet was uncertain in the course to take in order to achieve the goal. In the eyes of the North, the South had defied the region when it seceded from the Union and declared itself a separate nation, the Confederate States of America.<sup>177</sup> Upon the surrender and defeat of the Confederate States in 1865, the Union reclaimed its rule over the former seceded states and the territory it occupied, yet the North had made no plan for those state's future. The major question then became how was the nation going to impose rule and keep order, while at the same time, the former Confederate states were going through the readmission process. Should the states stay "conquered territories," under the absolute power and control of the conquering military rule, or could each state be given another undetermined yet viable option? Eventually it was determined that these states were unable permanently stay under the title of "conquered territories" for the rest of the nation's history, yet President Johnson refused to approve the use and force of the military to control the areas, he thought such actions would harm the region rather than help it. Instead, an interim measure for the states was concluded, which determined that the Federal Government would assign a provisional governor to the southern states. The purpose of this tactic was to provide a compatible system that aligned with the Federal Government's measures of control, which were slowly being imposed over the land and people. In addition, the Federal Government believed that the newly enforced measures of control over the south would begin the region's rehabilitation process. Ultimately the nation's hope was for Southerners and Northerners –not all but a large majority– to find common ground and work together as a renewed and reunited nation. However, such an approach was not

---

<sup>177</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1998), 85.

avored by South Carolina, instead the state argued and continued its fight for state's rights. South Carolina strongly believed that control over its own state, through its own government, was an innate right. This deep-seated belief South Carolina held in regard to a states' right to self-determination was one that stood in opposition to the Northern view, and was a major contributor to the antebellum secession of the state.<sup>178</sup>

The Federal Government's first act of centralized power and authority over the state was through the appointment of a provisional governor, Benjamin F. Perry.<sup>179</sup> Once Perry gained control of the state he moved to grant South Carolina with the right to establish its own elected government. The state's government was reestablished under no specific party, and it remained that way, as James Lawrence Orr was elected the first governor of South Carolina after the war with no formal ties to a political party. Clearly, for a state that had so much resentment toward centralized government and held firm in its beliefs of a strong state government, when the Federal Government imposed its rule and authority over the state the transition was not smooth. South Carolina, still under the hand of the central authority, continued to feel defiance by the Federal Government as it acted in absolute power. The resentment and resistance against the transition only grew as South Carolina was ordered to rewrite its Constitution and ratify the anti-slavery amendment. These terms had been made clear by Federal Government as a condition for the state to regain power within the Senate and eventually for its statehood to be reconsidered for admission to the Union.<sup>180</sup> At this point the policy of Reconstruction throughout the South became a reality for the Southern states, then in the years after the

---

<sup>178</sup> "Summary of the President's Message," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 6, 1865, 1.

<sup>179</sup> David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 562-564.

<sup>180</sup> "Summary of the President's Message," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 6, 1865, 1.

war, the citizens within South Carolina seemed to live in the past as they attempted to sustain the seceded governments and laws that were previously established in 1960. At the same time, the region continued to reject the loss of the war and the fearful provisions that were associated with it. When South Carolina finally acknowledged the realities that the state would face under Reconstruction, the overwhelming reactions focused on the policies that were at the expense of the South Carolina and the rest of the former Confederate States. However, there was a silver lining for South Carolina, one in the form of President Johnson, who in many aspects was seen as an advocate for the state, and South in general.<sup>181</sup>

After much debate and negotiation within the Union about the future of the former Confederate States of America, the result was composed of two resolutions, which spoke to the future of the South. First, the South was denied the ability to identify with the Federal Union until the state was fully readmitted into the Union. Secondly, the government ruled that the states were delayed that readmission, in other words the states were to remain conquered territories and would remain fully under the control of the Federal Government. The policy declared kept the former Confederate states out of the Federal Union for an extended time until government had reached more viable plans for the former seceded states.<sup>182</sup> When the two resolutions for the land were enacted the *Charleston Daily News* published a statement,

President Johnson has had the task of supplementing the Federal system with a series of rules for the adjustment of difficulties, which that system did not provide for. The result has been the 'Reconstruction Policy,' to which the merits of good sense, and of being as little exacting as might be expected under the circumstances, can be readily conceded. It is a very simple scheme, and its distinctive feature consists in restricting the conditions on which the readmission to the Federal Union of the States of the late Confederacy of the

---

<sup>181</sup> Foner, 85-86.

<sup>182</sup> "Summary of the President's Message," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 6, 1865, 1

United States, and to the proof of the sincerity of that loyalty by certain prescribed concessions.<sup>183</sup>

The reaction South Carolina demonstrated through the newspapers documented the continued hope that the State held during the declaration of the resolutions. The *News*, which was largely influential and represented the heart of the state, clearly displayed the continued support that South Carolina felt for President Johnson and the plans he had crafted for the nation. The hope that the state still possessed was captured in the paper as it stated in one issue, “Late events render it doubtful whether our hopes are to be realized; but we are of those who believe that moderate views and the sense of justice will, ere long, prevail, and secure the blessings of self-government.”<sup>184</sup> Thus, although the nation seemed to be changing as South Carolina’s power was removed from its own hands and placed into Johnson’s, the South Carolinians continued to support and hold optimism for the Federal Government. The *News* did however call attention to the fact that some men within the nation, as well as the state, possessed an opposing and contradicting belief, one associated with the Radicals’ viewpoints. Therefore, with the presence of another party, the *News* denounced the Radicals and its supporters in an article as they stated,

Malignant men there are, however, whom we cannot satisfy – political pathologists, keen to detect symptoms of disease in our body politic; and by such the enactment of the Negro Code, and the election to Congress of men prominent in support of the lost cause, have been urged as evidences of bad faith on the part of the State. Now, to yield the right of enacting such a Code would be simply an abdication by the State of its sovereignty – the destruction of which is no part of the President’s scheme – and the Code itself is no revocation of the concession made in relation to slavery. Special legislation for classes in a community is no novelty, and that now proposed for the negro is just to him and absolutely necessary to the resuscitation of production. As regards the late election, it would be as useless to deny that men’s minds are influenced by the recollections of the past four years, as it is captious and unjust to make that fact a ground for disfranchisement. There is no Lethe but time to wash out our memories; there is no contingency, short of a miracle, that can make them dangerous. There is no attempt to reward services rendered against the Federal Government: but those services, as proofs of human character, cannot be

---

<sup>183</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, December 9, 1865, 4.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

entirely ignored, and it may safely be asserted that fidelity to past obligations is the best guarantee for the performance of those newly assumed.<sup>185</sup>

The article printed in the *News* demonstrated the progression of the states' growing acceptance of the Federal Government, especially toward President Johnson. In many ways Johnson appealed to the Southerners' wants and needs, he continuously pardoned all Confederates and proposed lenient state reconstruction policies for readmission. These policies ultimately allowed the South to regain its traditional Southern lives – even with a more moderate form of slavery, the “Black Codes.” In addition there was also evidence of the disdain for the Radical Republicans, which fueled more Southern support for Johnson. South Carolinians began to realize that its prior belief that the government would work with them was just an ideal vision of hope, a vision that was failing to become a reality.<sup>186</sup>

Well into 1866, the Union continued its control over the Southern states and the Southerner's sparks of optimism with the Federal Government and Johnson began to fade. By late 1866 the South in many ways had regained its original life styles – especially with the black codes implemented throughout the state. It was this hope and vision of regaining the Southern lifestyle that pitted South Carolina against the Federal Government. In addition this division that became apparent when the government used its ability to call in Federal troops to the state as the government deemed it necessary to stop southerners' course of action. The evidence of the shift in the nation was most vividly seen through the amendments that were composed and approved by the Federal Government. These amendments, or Reconstruction Acts, were rejected by South

---

<sup>185</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, December 9, 1865, 4.

<sup>186</sup> David W Blight, *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) 44-47.

Carolina because none were in accordance with the South Carolinian perspective, the amendments excluded ultimate powers of the state government and fully embraced Republican rule.<sup>187</sup> The citizens voted down the Reconstruction Acts and provided the state with hope, while at the same time, the United States Senate crafted its own legislation, which addressed the history of Rebellion and resulted in the Joint Resolution.<sup>188</sup> The passage of the Joint Resolution, which was largely influenced by the state's black codes, ultimately led to the introduction of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In addition, as a result, other legislation was created and adopted and then imposed and governed throughout the country for years decades and centuries.<sup>189</sup>

South Carolina, along with the rest of the nation, was mandated to install the Federal form of government within the state – a system that much of the South resented as it claimed the system did not contribute to the wants or needs of South Carolina. The Federal Government reexamined the South Carolina State Constitution, a document that had been created during the antebellum period, and stated that a new framework was needed which limited the power of the state. In addition the state was forced to take responsibility for its prior acts of rebellion, namely its secession, and acknowledge the new commitment to the Federal in addition to the established laws of the land, which bounded the Union. Although the citizens and institutions of the state – like the *Charleston Daily News* – firmly believed in South Carolina's rights and local rule, the new Federal regulations instead forced the state to acquiesce to the centralized powers rather than the state's rights that it desired. To ensure the state followed these new terms, the Federal Government sent military troops into the state, an action that remained

---

<sup>187</sup> "Congressional," *The Charleston Daily News*, May 30, 1866, 1.

<sup>188</sup> Blight, 47.

<sup>189</sup> Zuczek, 32.

unpopular to South Carolinians; yet, the presence of the troops increased the likelihood that South Carolina would cooperate with the new laws.<sup>190</sup>

The placement of Federal troops within South Carolina was the result of the Reconstruction Bill, or the Military Bill, which was signed into law in March of 1867. By the terms of the Military Bill, the previously decided southern “conquered territories,” which had held a status/future of uncertainty for years, were once again evaluated. These aspects assessed were similar to the prior negotiations conducted around state re-admission; the result of the bill was again only temporary. The bill declared that while the readmission process was still underway for the southern states, those “conquered territories” were to be split into five districts and ruled through by the Federal troops. This conclusion ensured that again, as the Federal Government continued debates on the nation’s fate, the South would cease to be an issue. The Bill however, was not easily passed due to the President’s strongly opposition to any Federal troops entrance into an area for militant rule and occupancy.<sup>191</sup>

The Military Bill became a major topic of controversy throughout the state of South Carolina as it was proposed and went through the excruciating process of passage. The citizens of South Carolina largely viewed the contents and implications of the bill with dismay, though the extended press coverage and articles written in the *Charleston Daily News* on the matter may have affected the peoples’ opinions. One aspect of the bill that the *News* was most concerned with, and greatly expressed throughout the paper’s

---

<sup>190</sup> Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977) 26.

<sup>191</sup>Walter Edgar, (*South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998) 385.



coverage of the debate, was the knowledge that the Radicals, a political party heavily opposed by the state, were deeply involved in its creation.<sup>192</sup>

The Military Bill, now in the hands of the President, and out of whose possess, a month ago, no Republican who understood the situation would ever have expected it to emerge alive, and when His Excellency has the constitutional right to suffocate it in his Executive pocket until the Thirty-Ninth Congress ceases to be, will, beyond a peradventure, be sent back to the Capitol....A treaty was concluded between the Executive and at least one wing of the Radical Party...the Bill is enacted upon their strength alone.<sup>193</sup>

The *News* suggested that there was a great fear and anxiety toward Radical Reconstruction and the passage of the Military Bill held by the citizens of South Carolina. Many also felt alarmed by the idea that the Radicals had gained such prominence and power within the government. Thus, the fate of the state, and region, according to the *News*, laid in the belief that President Johnson would strike down such a bill that was so harmful to the South. However, the *Charleston Daily News* warned its citizens that the veto might not be the end of the bill, as Congress had the ability to override it. The *News* also declared in the same article that there was a rumor of a coup d'état, which could arise as a result of the bill's passage; "The pass of the military measure, that a coup d'état will be perpetrated by the other side, which, though unheard of in the line of justifiable legislative craft, will if attempted, succeed beyond a peradventure."<sup>194</sup> The underlying meaning of such a published statement in a largely influential the paper caused its citizens to generate questions and anxiety for the nation as Congress enacted the bill into law.<sup>195</sup>

The Military Bill only added more confusion to the already conflicted attitudes that South Carolina held towards the Federal Government. On one hand, the state

---

<sup>192</sup> "Our Washington Letter," *The Charleston Daily News*, February 28, 1867, 1.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> "Our Washington Letter," *The Charleston Daily News*, March 4, 1867, 1.

<sup>195</sup> "The Military Bill," *The Charleston Daily News*, March 4, 1867, 2.

despised such a central authoritative power that controlled its land, yet Johnson also spoke about the importance of the South within the nation.<sup>196</sup> In addition, Johnson vetoed the bill once again, which provided the Southern citizens with hope that they could regain power within their state. This hope and belief was demonstrated through an article in the *Charleston Daily News*, which described the President's "resolution not to join in the destruction of the country and the Constitution."<sup>197</sup> Despite the veto action by Johnson, the bill Congress was able to override Johnson's decision, thus the bill was signed into law on March 2, 1867, much to the dismay of South Carolina, and the South as a whole. According to reports by the *News*, a benefit that arose from the bill was the ability for South Carolina to reinstate its state government, one of the only features of the bill that the paper noted as a positive attribute. However, the newly reestablished government did not hold the same power and control that was equivalent to prior state governments in years past; instead, the Federal Government held the highest level of control and power over the decision of the state. Therefore although the state government was reestablished and its role had changed due to the Federal Government's national authority, South Carolina nonetheless still held a glimpse of hope, which once again was for the state to return to the preferred southern way of life.<sup>198</sup>

An aspect of the Military Bill, one that was left relatively uncommented on by the *News*, was in regard to the influence that the Radicals held on the Federal Government. During this time the next phase of Reconstruction had commenced, Radical Reconstruction, and it was very clear that the Federal Government, until this point, had been relatively united. As Radical Reconstruction emerged the Federal Government faced

---

<sup>196</sup> "A Talk with the President," *The Charleston Daily News*, February 27, 1867, 1.

<sup>197</sup> "The Military Bill," *The Charleston Daily News*, March 4, 1867, 2.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

a rebel insurrection that began to split while the Radicals began to emerge in an increasingly louder manner and launched strong attacks against President Johnson. The Radical's main point of attack surrounded the issue of consolidated power by the executive branch and the amount power President Johnson personally held, and with that the effect it had on the Military Bill.<sup>199</sup> South Carolina's primary hope was to return to the life it once knew and therefore, had to put its trust in President Johnson as the Radicals heavily influenced Congress. As Ayer stated years earlier, South Carolina could either continue to be ruled by the Northern politics and culture of enforcement, or the state could be controlled through the trust and support of President Johnson.<sup>200</sup> The constantly shifting power base in Washington however, caused great confusion within South Carolina over the impacts and consequences the Military Bill would impose upon the state. Therefore, in response to the public's confusion, the *Charleston Daily News* published a direct interview with Johnson, which disclosed accurate information about the Military Reconstruction Bill and the costs and effects that it would have on South Carolina. In addition, the *News* quickly and assertively expressed its feelings towards Radicals, as it suggested the Radicals believed in the executive holding more power.<sup>201</sup> Through the *News*' reporting the newspaper provided information that was able to influence and shape the minds of its audience, some of which was accurate and some of which was highly inaccurate. Thus, the *News* ultimately used its power over the public to remind South Carolina that it should be fearful of the destruction to the state associated

---

<sup>199</sup> "Our Washington Letter," *The Charleston Daily News*, February 28, 1867, 1.

<sup>200</sup> "To the Voters of Charleston, Colicton, Beaufort, and Barnwell District – Second Congressional District of South Carolina," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 26, 1865, 2.

<sup>201</sup> "Our Washington Letter," *The Charleston Daily News*, February 28, 1867, 1.

with the Radicals while also reminding the citizens of the South Carolinian and Southern ideals.

The political parties that were emerging within the country became a major topic of discussion and concern, especially to those who had remained loyal to a specific party. The *News* printed an article entitled “The President & Politics” in which Johnson declared that the South was “whipped.” Thus, through such a statement, he indicated that there maintained a great tension between the two regions, one that needed to be resolved as the North looked viewed the South as its defeated region. The Northern optimism surrounded the idea that if the Republican Party could work fairly with Johnson, then together it would be capable of conquering any of the “Rebels” left in the South, thus assuring nearly twenty more years of power.<sup>202</sup> However, the notion of the parties working together diminished quickly. Charles Sumner, a senator from Massachusetts and the leader of the Radical Republicans in the Senate introduced a bill, which would grant the newly freed slaves with the right to vote. The bill was referred to as Sumner’s Suffrage Bill and according to Ben Wade of the *News*, it attacked state rights in regard to suffrage;

He believed that under the last clause of the 13th amendment, giving Congress power to enforce the abolition of slavery by appropriate legislation, there was ample authority for the passage of the bill, for no man was really free in the country unless he had the right to vote. But he was a believer in States rights in a proper legitimate way, and did not know but that this bill was in violation of the right of each State to regulate suffrage. Some of his party, he said, were in favor of what they called consolidation, but he never was. He believed it was necessary to the proper administration of the affairs of the Government, that the states should have certain rights, and he did not believe that state rights should exist only for the purpose of representation in the Senate, and be a nullity for all other purposes.<sup>203</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup> “A Talk with the President,” *The Charleston Daily News*, July 31, 1867, 1.

<sup>203</sup> “Sumner Suffrage Bill – States Rights,” *The Charleston Daily News*, Nov 12, 1867, 1.

Sumner's Suffrage Bill incorporated the Thirteenth Amendment and its clauses, which would abolish slavery and grant the Freedmen the right to vote, in addition it would give absolute power to the Federal Government to enforce the law. This concept that the Federal Government held all of the centralization of power throughout the nation was one that South Carolina deeply opposed as it violated state's rights. Wade's response in the *Charleston Daily News* helped increased awareness of such an act across the state and declared that the act was a violation of the right of each state to enact universal suffrage.<sup>204</sup> Thus, Sumner's bill caused great controversy between the political parties, the Congress and the president, the North and the South and with the help of the *News* fueled white citizen's disdain for the law.

From the South Carolinian perspective, the idea of granting blacks with the right to vote was a concept that became progressively more accepted, yet in many ways it continued to be resisted. By April 1868, South Carolina began the electoral process and it became evident that many whites still resisted the idea of black suffrage and therefore, continued to hold firm in the belief blacks should not hold the power to vote. Because of South Carolina's status and lack of full statehood recognition, in addition to the state's constant rebellions – especially at the expense of blacks, the state was forced to implement the Fourteenth Amendment. The enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment across the state was to ensure that all citizens of the United States were granted with the rights of citizenship, due process and equal protection. More specifically, such a action meant that the newly freed slaves would become citizens, therefore they were guaranteed to gain all the rights granted under the Fourteenth Amendment. South Carolinians protested such a ruling however, eventually South Carolina begrudgingly accepted the

---

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

Federal Government's decision and enacted the amendment. Although, regardless of the state's compliance with national legislation, the state in turn imposed its own laws, which served to limit the newly initiated black suffrage. South Carolina attempted to discourage and limit blacks from voting through the implementation of a poll tax, a payment that many blacks were unable to afford. The imposed and racially aimed tax was one that, according to the *Charleston Daily News*, South Carolina felt was a rightful tax as the state viewed the acts of Congress unbinding. Therefore, South Carolina defended its rule as an action that was "necessary to pay a capitation tax to qualify to vote"<sup>205</sup> – a tax that was levied upon every male for education purposes. The poll tax however, was ruled illegal by the Federal Government, a decision that the government spread by requiring newspapers to publish the new law in various issues as a way to ensure all aspects of the law had been clearly laid out for all citizens.<sup>206</sup>

The ratification of the South Carolina Constitution in 1868 also demonstrated and highlighted the tension held between the state and the politics parties. With the ratification of the new State Constitution, one that was vastly different from the previous state constitution, allowed South Carolina to be readmitted to the Union. Therefore, the *Charleston Daily News* feared that the inevitable would happen and that "we should fail to realize that the state was silently but surely passing into the hands of the aliened and stranger."<sup>207</sup> The *News* believed that the passage of the new State Constitution represented what soon became the beginning of the end for South Carolinians' traditional way of life, one that they had known for years. The *News* also raised concerns about men, who began to emerge on the political scene as members of the Radical Republican Party

---

<sup>205</sup> "The Municipal Elections," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 14, 1868, 2.

<sup>206</sup> Edgar, 386.

<sup>207</sup> "The Election," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 17, 1868, 3.

and therefore, in the eyes of South Carolinians, began to threaten the progression of the country. Already South Carolina believed that the Federal Government played a much too powerful and central role in the nation and with these impending changes; concerns grew even more throughout the state.

Object of the men who are now striving to control the Republican Party in Congress is to affect an entire change in our Republican form of government and to substitute in its place a dictatorship more absolute and arbitrary than that of Robespierre and the Commune de Paris.<sup>208</sup>

It appeared that many whites within South Carolina began sway away from the state's Republican Party, yet at the same time that *News*' coverage of corruption in the party became more extensive and persuasive. The decline in the popularity and membership in the Republican Party by South Carolinians was very much encouraged by the press, as a result, it also encouraged the *Charleston Daily News* to continue publish articles that sought to reshape the citizen's opinions of the political parties.

Throughout much of the second half of 1868, information about political parties – especially the Republican Party – dominated newspapers such as the *Charleston Daily News*. In July of 1868 the *News* began to report on the extent of corruption and fraud within South Carolina's Republican Party. The reports of Republican corruption became a tactical measure used by the state's political parties, mainly the newly formed Reform Party, as a way to denounce the nation's dominating political party. The *News* previously faulted Republicans for "extravagant wasting of the public money, the tainting of national credit, the impeding of immigration by overburdening labor with taxation and the breaking down all the Constitutional guarantees of Republican liberty."<sup>209</sup> The *News* ran propaganda-like articles that listed the harmful actions of the Republican Party –

---

<sup>208</sup> "The Great Conspiracy," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 18, 1868, 1.

<sup>209</sup> "The New York Convention," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 7, 1868, 1.

including violence – in an effort to shift support to the Democratic Party. The paper further used its rhetoric, partisan reporting and significant influence over its readers to suggest that the Republican Party, the party of the Federal Government, should slowly vanish all together as it was believed to be ruining the state and the nation.

After publishing the numerous counts of corruption in prior issues, the *Charleston Daily News* continued its mission to convince the citizens of South Carolina not to support, that the paper indicated were the evils, of the Republican Party. The paper attempted to reshape the public's mind so that the citizens would shift their political national support toward the Democratic Party. The *News* plainly wrote about the Democrats' platforms and intentions in the most positive light in an attempt to further refocus the issues of the citizens, and ultimately align them with Democratic positions. The evidence of the paper's intention was magnified through the rhetoric of the two articles that discussed both the political parties. As demonstrated previously, the *News* wrote about the Republican Party in an almost slandering way, with harsh criticisms toward the party. But, in another issue, the *News* wrote about the Democratic Party, however in that article the rhetoric used was in a much more positive light, as it stated that the party was,

...Reposting trust in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of powers of government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all times to come by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern states in Constitution Conventions assembled and never to be renewed or re-agitated, do, with the return of peace, demand.<sup>210</sup>

The *Charleston Daily News* described the Democratic Party as the ideal party, one that constantly used a phrase that all Southerners wanted to hear, the "limitation of powers of

---

<sup>210</sup> "By Telegraph – New York Convention," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 9, 1868, 1.



government.” The movement away from the Republican Party and the embracing of Democratic “limitation of power of the government” made it clear that South Carolinians remained true to their original ideas. The *News* also showed that it no longer held the same hope it once did for the Federal Government, or more precisely the President. As a way to balance South Carolina’s disdain for the Republican Party and the Federal Government, citizens of the state increased their support the Democratic Party and began to embrace its ideals.<sup>211</sup>

As time passed and the nation, as well as the state, shifted and advanced politically, the *Charleston Daily News* began to progress soften its attitude toward the Federal Government. The stark dismay that the paper held felt for the Federal Government had vanished by 1870 and was replaced by a more solemn attitude. By this time there was little support in South Carolina for Federal Government and it seemed that the *News* almost wanted to remove itself from the debate altogether as it stated,

... by avoiding both Democracy and Republicanism. When the federal elections of 1872 approach, it may be necessary to take a new point of departure. This paper is not tacked to the tail of any federal party, and will in the future, as it has tried to do in the past, support just that party which does the most for the whole South, and looks with a friendly eye upon the fortunes of the State. This, in brief, is the utilitarian policy of the times.<sup>212</sup>

Although the paper claimed to be impartial, and the 1870 elections represented South Carolinian’s pretenses, it also promised security and prosperity for citizens of the state. In addition, it acknowledged that the approach would need to be refocused within two years when the presidential election of 1872 was to take place. Yet by April of 1870 there was substantial evidence, as reported in the newspaper that the division between the Federal

---

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> “Our Own Party,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1870, 2.

Government and South Carolina had continued to widen as the Fifteenth Amendment was passed, ratified and enforced.

The Radicals sponsored and supported Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which officially allowed black men the right to vote. For many Americans, both Northerners and Southerners, the idea of granting blacks the right to vote was unthinkable and to South Carolina it was completely unimaginable. As the Federal Government imposed the Fifteenth Amendment onto South Carolina a great resentment developed in opposition to the legislation. However, in response, the President of the United States urged South Carolina to adopt the amendment as a statement was published in an article in the *Charleston Daily News*,

In this state there is now no political question dividing the two parties which ought to constitute a sufficient barrier to a common coalition of the honest and patriotic of all parties, nation: all ties and colors against political dishonesty, selfishness and corruption. The recent amendments to the constitution of the United States settle the questions of main importance between the two great parties of the country. Those amendments are now the organic law of the land. The questions they decide are dead issues. It is idle to quarrel over them any longer. Whether they are wise or unwise must be a matter of experiment, and ought not to be the subject of an idle quarrel between good men. The press resolution indicate the acceptance of the constitutional amendments by the Democratic party of this State. We believe they are accepted in all honesty and good faith. The right of every citizen to vote and hold office is acknowledged....The four short, simple resolutions recently adopted by the press convention in Columbia, indicate the source of and the remedy for all our political ills, both State and national. They constitute a platform upon which every honest man in the nations, be he Democrat or Republican, can stand. They announce the only theory upon which a hope of the ultimate success of a Republican form of government can be rationally based.<sup>213</sup>

Therefore it was clear that the disdain South Carolina held for the Radicals and the party's stance on black suffrage served as an obstacle between South Carolina and the Federal Government, a relationship that continued to foster hostility.<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>213</sup> "The New Coalition," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 2, 1870, 1.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

The Fifteenth Amendment remained a great concern throughout South Carolina as it granted blacks, a large majority within the state, with what many Southerners may have viewed as equality. The Federal Government made numerous pleas to South Carolina, which called for the state to peacefully accept the new amendment, yet regardless of the appeals, the law's passage caused great concern for the 1870 state election – especially for blacks. While it was officially legal for all black men to vote in all of the United States, on the day of the Presidential Elections the Federal Government sent Federal marshals to South Carolina to protect, enforce, and ensure the rights and safety of black men to vote.<sup>215</sup> In order to avoid bloodshed and violence, the *News* was forced to publish explicit rules for voting, as well as punishments for those who tried to block voters, which served as preventative measure and warned all “rebels” within the state who had considered any acts of wrongdoing of the consequences of their actions.<sup>216</sup>

Though the amendments were legally ratified and now part of the Constitution, therefore, the law of the land. However, the question that still remained regarded the affirmation of power, specifically the extent of the Federal Government's power to regulate local elections. Such a question sparked numerous articles to be published by the *Charleston Daily News*, which attempted to address and answer the concerns expressed by the public on the matter. The result of the matter directly impacted South Carolina as state was schedule to hold its local elections that the same year the amendment was turned into law.<sup>217</sup>

The challenges between South Carolina and the Federal Government continued and deepened the division of each side's entrenched and separate views. South Carolina's

---

<sup>215</sup> “The Political Cauldron,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 17, 1870, 3.

<sup>216</sup> “The Committees Authorized by Congress,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1870, 1.

<sup>217</sup> “The Issues Before Us,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 24, 1870, 2.

clear rejection of the Federal Government was on that was also felt by other states, such as Maryland. During the presidential elections of 1872 the *News* published an article, submitted by the *Baltimore Sun*, which summed up the relationship of the Federal Government and states. The article stated:

The tactics of both parties have been those chiefly of attack, rather than of defence [*sic*] as if more was to be hoped for from a scathing exposure and demonstration of the faults and demerits of the 'other side,' than from the assertion of any positive claims to the public confidence and support. It is this which has made the campaign one of the most persona, abusive and scandalous in the annals of our politics. A still stronger incentive, however, to make the most of the time and opportunity which still remain will be found in the degree of apathy which is yet to be overcome in many portions of the country and among a large class of voters upon the subject of the Presidential election. This apathy is, of course, traceable in part to the causes already suggested – dissatisfaction with the conditions under which the Presidential issue is made up, and with the choice of candidates present-by the nominated conventions. This, coupled with the wholesale abuse and vilification of public men on both sides, with which the press and stump have teemed seems to have begotten a sort of despair in the minds of some as to possibility of any good coming out of the present contest. Of this frame of mind and its fruits we have lately had a notable and not unnatural illustration in South Carolina in the state election recently held, whereas very large proportion of the white voters simply stayed away from the polls from the polls from utter disgust apparently with politics generally, and a disbelief in the possibility of any present change for the better. It is true that the circumstances of that unfortunate state are, to some extent, exceptional and abnormal, and when we consider the character of the candidates, as general rule, who were up to be voted for, the abstention of the white voters is not remarkable. But the feeling, with some modification, extends beyond the borders of South Carolina. It is the spirit of political pessimism which, within the last twelve years, has taken the place, to some extent, of that buoyant and self-confident optimism which used to be the characteristic of American politicians and politics.<sup>218</sup>

South Carolina had always had a very complex relationship with the Federal Government, as it remained a strong advocate of state's right and limited Federal authority. One the primary reasons for South Carolina's secession was over the issue of states self-determination as a way to protect its culture, economy, society and lifestyle. After the war the state possessed great hope that the Federal Government would allow state governments to stay in control of its states, which meant little change would affect

---

<sup>218</sup> The Close of the Campaign ,” *The Charleston Daily News*, via the *Baltimore Sun*, November 2, 1872, 2.

the fabric South Carolina's lifestyle. In many ways, during the years of Presidential Reconstruction, while Johnson was in power, South Carolina's optimism continued to remain strong. In many ways Johnson, who was largely supported by South Carolina, allowed the state to regain its Southern lifestyle. In addition, he advocated for the state as he allowed black codes to persist over the state, in addition to his veto of the Civil Rights Bill and the pardoning of all Confederates. However, with the evolution from Presidential Reconstruction to Radical Reconstruction, which resulted in the loss of state power and self-determination, the hope and optimism quickly faded and turned into resentment. In some respects Johnson's presidency brought the most confusion for the state as it repeatedly supported some of his policies, yet rejected others. Under Radical Reconstruction the Federal Government began to impose its rule over the state and region. Therefore with such power implemented over the state, a greater resentment developed as the fear of military occupation over the state and district lingered over the state. For much of the time period, South Carolina held the utmost bitterness and hostility toward the centralized Federal power and authority. As the Radicals gained significant prominence the party became more influential in the shaping and passing of Federal legislation. Thus, the Radicals momentum only contributed to South Carolinian's growing resentment, which ultimately resulted in the formation of a more solid and unbreakable barrier between the state and the Federal Government. As the Reconstruction Acts passed the division between the Federal Government and the state deepened. In addition elections, both state and national, further split South Carolina and the Federal Government's relationship. As both major political parties proved to be corrupt and/or failed to meet the ideals of South Carolina namely, state's rights and the state's ability to

hold the majority of its power and control within its own government. These issues were stemmed back to the antebellum period when they developed, and although there was a glimpse of hope for South Carolinian cooperation within the government, that spark ultimately flickered out and left a hostile relation between the Federal Government and South Carolina. This relationship in many ways is still evident in the present day as the state continues to rebel in certain ways, such as the only relatively recent removal of the Confederate flag.

## Chapter 5: Attitudes Toward Blacks

White Southerners during the mid-nineteenth century were subjected to a nearly constant state of change. During the antebellum period many people within the region defended their economy, culture, society and way of life from Northern oppression and their status within the Union. During the Civil War families were torn apart as generations of men died and the region's land was destroyed in battle, then after the war the life that Southerners had known it for decades was no longer. However, regardless of the war, the Northern occupation, and the various Federal mandates, the majority of the Southern realities had been completely altered, yet one thing remained constant - the core belief that white Southerners were superior to blacks in every way. Throughout the South and especially within South Carolina, blacks were not seen as humans by whites, instead they were viewed as materialistic things, mainly property. Blacks primary function was their labor, it drove the Southern economy and generated significant amount of wealth, thus, it was presented as a concept of inferiority, which was ingrained in the Southerner's mind and way of life. By 1863 the belief white southerners possessed was challenged by the decree of the Emancipation Proclamation as it set all slaves in the southern territories free. Such a declaration, coupled with the Confederate's crushing defeat by the Union army and followed by Federal occupation, only fueled and maintained the southerners' white supremacist beliefs.

South Carolina was the home of King Cotton and tobacco; it was a place that thrived on agricultural, industrial, and manual labor. The key to the state's success was its low cost labor found in the fields and in the homes, which was supplied by Southern black slaves. Whites had always been taught that they were superior to blacks, for

generations whites had owned blacks and controlled every aspect of the race's lives through the institution of slavery in which whites owned the land and held all the power.<sup>219</sup> Controversy rose around the concepts of the inferiority and status of blacks in society as the Federal Government mandated a law, which proposed the idea that blacks were in fact humans. However, Southerners refused to acknowledge such a concept and therefore, in response, the South decided each black person only represented three-fifths of a person, a ruling that made it clear that blacks were not equal to whites. The South maintained a culture that exemplified and thrived on racism that was most vividly seen through Black Codes. The new laws implemented by South Carolina within the state repressed blacks from any rights they possessed, in other words, the Black Codes were a new form of slavery, one that was legalized.<sup>220</sup> The white supremacist culture throughout the South was best captured and explained through newspapers, as seen through articles in the *Charleston Daily News*. The topic of race, or specifically attitudes towards blacks, was weaved throughout the most of the *News*' stories and often rebutted the concepts of suffrage and equality that had developed across the North and began to drift into the state.

As Southern war veterans began their journeys home from the war and eventually put their feet on their "home" soil once again, the veterans immediately were faced with the feared question of how to approach the newfound issue of emancipation? How were white plantation owners, who were now former slaveholders, to treat these newly

---

<sup>219</sup> Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870*. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-2.

<sup>220</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 16.



“freedmen”?”<sup>221</sup> How was the South’s economy supposed to move on without its low cost black labor force? How was white society and culture going to go on without its black house servants? Like all Southerners, South Carolinians were ordered by the Emancipation Proclamation to liberate their slaves, declaring them free from the dreadful conditions they held them in for so many years. At the same time black troops began to reenter their “home” state – where they were previously slaves – as the unsung heroes of the war. Many whites within the south refused to acknowledge their presence in the war; however, the Presidential recognized of their service.

The President reviewed the returned colored troops to-day, and in a speech urged the necessity of the freedom showing, by their conduct, that they are entitled freedom, which consists of industry, virtue and intelligence; and if it is found that the freed negroes cannot harmonize with our system, Providence will point a way for separation and indicate the promised land.<sup>222</sup>

In many ways whites feared the freedom of blacks; whites felt a sense of security when blacks were slaves that they controlled. The idea of whites harmonizing with the colored race was widely unaccepted by people throughout the nation, as blacks were not seen as equal to whites on any level. The majority of whites felt strongly that blacks contrasted with all the southern values and therefore would never integrate into society properly so should not be given the chance. Thus, to whites, the more beneficial solution for both races was to continue the system of labor, slavery, which was already established.<sup>223</sup> The argument, as positioned in the *Charleston Daily News*, was,

The labor of the negro would be preferred – it will be more ready to our hand – it will be more agreeable from our better acquaintance with it, a greater familiarity with it and experience of its capacities; and while this labor may not be sufficient, while it may be less efficient in want of the more stringent disciplines of slavery and while, this labor may be less efficient, it would not be adequate to the demands for labor in the expanded opportunities presented by the transcendently profitable products of our country, and white labor form all

---

<sup>221</sup> “The President and Freedman,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1865, 1.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1865, 2.

other countries may be brought in, it is reasonably certain that this labor, if there be the securities for its efficiency and order, will to the utmost extent of it, be absorbed, and that thus the negro will become a sharer in whatever of fortune may be open to the people of the South.<sup>224</sup>

Furthering this, the majority of whites desired a continued separation, which many believed could be done if blacked moved toward the Sea Islands, or what was referred to as “the promised land of freedom.”<sup>225</sup> This approach completely removed from the whites’ land and therefore, left no association with former slaves, or subhuman people as they were also seen. This idea of complete segregation was the common desire of many white South Carolinians as it was expressed through an article in the *Charleston Daily News* that stated, “If the race went away there would be relief.”<sup>226</sup> The statement not only reflected the Southerner point of view, but it also demonstrated the newspaper’s ideology and thoughts on the matter of race and the treatment of former slaves.

Tensions were heightened throughout the South in March of 1865 when President Lincoln established a temporary organization called “The Freedmen’s Bureau.” The Freedmen’s Bureau was an offshoot of the Union Army and was created to provide a safety net that delivered government aid for blacks, a crucial step toward Reconstruction. The Freedmen’s Bureau urged blacks to rebuild their lives and as a result, provided them with proper funding and other benefits. Congress and the President proposed the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill, which was passed on March 3, 1865.<sup>227</sup> The Freedmen’s Bureau Bill allowed the government to give aid to all former slaves who were freed by the terms of the Emancipation Proclamation for the purpose of collecting necessities such as food, housing, education, health, and employment. The Bill that was supposed to be enforced

---

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1998), 83.

<sup>226</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1865, 1.

<sup>227</sup> Zuczek, 29-31.

throughout the state and region became a reminder to the people of the South that their world was changing and moving towards, what they believed, was the horrid system of the North.<sup>228</sup>

Within South Carolina, as well as through the Deep South, blacks served whites with what they described as a “security” within society.<sup>229</sup> In the eyes of white supremacists the ability to control blacks, specifically through their source of labor, allowed the whites to feel as if their society was in fact advancing since the end of the Civil War. Furthermore, along with the security of black control, there was also a source of prosperity; as blacks labored, whites made money. Initially the *Charleston Daily News* seemed to be hopeful as it suggested the potentially bright prospects of the future, which joined labor among blacks and whites in the same industry and labor field. Evidence of this optimism was displayed through an article, which stated,

...he shall be made to perform his office in capacity into which he may be taken; upon that security, works will be undertaken, enterprises will be started: he will be again taken up into the ordinary operations of society; his advancement will consistent then with the advancement of the society itself; and that this society is free from foreign interference, that he is relieved from interference of officious friends, that he can become a normal constituent of a healthy, vital, active community, to share in its goods and its ills, and have, at least, that share of common content and happiness which always results from a natural position, is now, perhaps, the highest boon that could be conferred upon that race.<sup>230</sup>

This clearly demonstrated the potential opportunity for blacks to advance into more natural positions within society. However, the *Charleston Daily News* alluded to the fear of blacks advancing in society, which it implied would force whites to share their fortunes with their former slaves. Whites of the state quickly discovered that their

---

<sup>228</sup> David W Blight, *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) 45-46.

<sup>229</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 12, 1865, 2.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

fortunes would not be the only sacrifice and loss that they were subjected to through the liberation of blacks after the war.

In many aspects blacks had established the ability to advance in society just as whites had; therefore, the progression of the nation toward equal rights for all men was taken a step further as blacks were granted the right to be elected into the government. The idea of a black person within the government was a paralyzing thought for most white South Carolinians. Due to this noted concern that was possessed by many citizens of the state, a form of relief was sent to them through a message that was published in the News from President Johnson to Congress.

The President says that the General Government has no authority to make the freedmen electors; that power remains with the States; they can decide whether it is to be adopted at once, or introduced gradually, with the condition, however, that the Government faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty, property, right to labor and to claim jurisdiction of their labor. It will be his constant aim to promote peace with all foreign nations, and thinks they are animated by the same disposition.<sup>231</sup>

Clearly, it was determined that the state, rather than the federal government, had the ultimate and absolute power to make, choose, and elect blacks into a high position of power, such as one within the government.<sup>232</sup> The reactions to the new ruling were demonstrated in a letter printed in the *Charleston Daily News*, which was written in response to the printed message and, in many ways, highlighted the general emotions held by the whites of the city and county. In addition, it contributed to the changes that were imposed during the time period, in addition to people's thoughts about the future of blacks and blacks' integration within traditional white society. In the letter, the contributor stated that the, "Negro was once our laborer, producer, has assumed other relations; he is for the moment mostly a consumer, he once a source of prosperity and has

---

<sup>231</sup> "Summary of The President's Message," *The Charleston Daily News*, December 6, 1865, 1.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

now become a source of irritation and dread and calamity.”<sup>233</sup> The Federal government continuously made the argument that with time, blacks would prove to be a valuable asset to Southern society. The simple outlook and response to the reasoning and optimism by the Federal Government was summed up in a question and printed in the *Charleston Daily News*, which asked readers, “Can we afford to wait while state is staring at poverty?”<sup>234</sup> The question caused greater resentment over the liberation of blacks to build throughout the white community, as blacks became freed men. The fear South Carolinian’s possessed toward the integration of, what they considered the inferior black population, living amongst white society raised another question: if blacks were no longer bound to the field, how would society move on and advance in the ways that the Federal government projected they would?<sup>235</sup>

It was clear from the *Charleston Daily News*’ reports of the reactions held by white South Carolinians’ that racial tensions had increased as blacks were no longer forced to live under the rigid system of slavery, and instead were freed. In fact, through articles published by the *News*, there was very little optimism for the future, which suggested that whites’ attitudes toward blacks would shift. Although tensions were high during Emancipation, by the early half of 1866 as the Second Freedmen’s Bureau Act was crafted, the anxieties began to skyrocket. The purpose of the act, in many ways, was to serve as a piece of Civil Rights legislation for blacks within the Southern states, which South Carolina included. The need for a Second Freedmen’s Bureau Act was to due to the one year time constraint that President Lincoln had put on the first one in 1865. Therefore, in 1866 Congress passed the act, but President Andrew Johnson vetoed it

---

<sup>233</sup> “State Legislature,” *The Charleston Daily News*, December 9, 1865, 10.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

much to the delight of South Carolina and the Southern region. Congress however, failed to override Johnson's veto, which gave South Carolina and the region hope. The veto it seemed had struck down the opportunity for blacks to be granted any further rights, and as a result, it allowed Southern whites to keep their racial system in place.<sup>236</sup> However, to Southern dismay, the Second Freedmen's Bureau Act that was vetoed became the foundation of the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, which was essentially a stronger version of the Second Freedmen's Bureau Act. The Civil Rights Bill developed weeks after the Second Freedmen's Bureau Act was defeat and thus, incorporated its additional civil rights for blacks.<sup>237, 238</sup>

The South, and South Carolina especially, feared the fate of its society if the Civil Rights Bill passed and was enacted into law. Whites felt a sense of horror as they watched what they dreaded was the crumbling of the nation due to the potential declaration of black rights. Anxieties only escalated as Southern newspapers, including the *Charleston Daily News*, heightened the citizen's senses and created images in its minds of the worst-case scenarios as a result of the Act's passage. The general consensus throughout South Carolina was of both white supremacy and state's rights over Federal Government rule. South Carolinians continued to believe that the state was more capable than the Federal Government, and especially the North, to resolve the issue of race. As the *Charleston Daily News* stated,

The veto of the civil rights bill by the president is a fact of which it were not too much to say that it has given satisfaction here. In the ground of his objection we, of the South, of course, concur. We know that evils of the system

---

<sup>236</sup> Saville, 84-101.

<sup>237</sup> Alfred R. Waud, "The Freedmen's Bureau," HarpWeek: Explore History. <http://www.harpweek.com/09cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=July&Date=25> (accessed March 10, 2013).

<sup>238</sup> Stephen Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought To Be*. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010) 47-48.

to have been inaugurated; we have dreaded the terrible evils of that estrangement between the races which must have been necessary results. There is solicitude to preserve the negroes, and a conviction that their preservation is only consistent with such relations as must naturally result from our experiences, and satisfaction, therefore that this effort to disturb the course of it has been defeated.<sup>239</sup>

South Carolina had seen the incompatibility of blacks and whites, and believed that there was strong evidence that supported the idea that the two races needed to be divided and separated for eternity. The article suggested that if the nation listened to the Southern cries of dismay toward the Civil Rights Bill and prevent the passage, it would better the nation. By March 13, 1866 the tensions were high throughout South Carolina as the Bill entered the floor. However, to the satisfaction of South Carolina, President Johnson again vetoed the bill and restored hope to white throughout the state and region.<sup>240</sup>

With the veto of the Civil Rights Bill by President Johnson, South Carolina and the rest of the Southern region, felt as if God gave them a gift. Although there was such a large group that declared the bill as necessary that a group formed in opposition that was composed of Freedmen's Bureau members. Together these men became outspoken advocates who fought for the cause and created rallies that were heard around the state, in addition they wrote regarding in the necessity of the bill that were sent to newspapers to be printed in order to build more awareness.<sup>241</sup> After Johnson's veto, Congress reevaluated the bill and then came together and used their collective power to override the veto, which allowed the bill to be signed into law by April 1866.<sup>242</sup> The bill's passage was viewed as a defeat for white South Carolinians, it presented them with the reality that blacks were another step closer to complete equality. The papers reported on the act in a

---

<sup>239</sup> "The Veto of The Civil Rights Bill," *The Charleston Daily News*, March 30, 1866, 4.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Foner, 110-114.

<sup>242</sup> "The Civil Rights Bill," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 10, 1866, 1.

solemn way and provided no comments or bias, it simply printed the letter in plain text to demonstrate the disdain it had for the new piece of legislation.<sup>243</sup>

As blacks gained freedom and recognition, the majority of South Carolina's Freedmen's Bureau members had occupied the Sea Islands of the state, the barrier islands on the South Carolina coast. The Sea Islands had been a source of controversy since January 16, 1865 when General Sherman declared Special Order 15, which stated that freed blacks that were granted land would occupy the land part of the Sea Islands.<sup>244</sup> The order became widely controversial as whites felt that they had been forced out of their land so that blacks, who they still considered property, could take the land over as their own. Therefore, an investigation was launched into these Sea Islands during 1866 and the findings were reported back to the citizens through the *Charleston Daily News*, a measure that provided more ammunition to fuel the color barrier throughout the state and eventually the country. The report stated that Sherman's Special Order 15 contributed to the hostile relationship that had developed between the two races; the belief was that the separation was too great. However, the report also stated that whites held a sense of praise for the special order because it isolated what they referred to as "contraband" as they had been sent to the islands far off the coast of the state. Another aspect of the report aimed significant blame toward the black community on the Sea Islands for its lack of real agricultural work as the report stated,

The experiment of making the negro a planter on his own account has failed as signally as a hundred other experiments with the negro have failed. Those who had land orders last year, and were in a position to grow twenty or thirty acres of cotton for themselves have this year not a cent to bless themselves with, and have been living on charity all the winter... In the first place, they

---

<sup>243</sup> "From Washington: Freedman's Bureau & The Committee on Reconstruction," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 17, 1866, 1.

<sup>244</sup> Saville, 19.



raised miserable crops; in the next, they were robbed by Northern speculators, working under the shadow of the Bureau, of what little they did raise.<sup>245</sup>

Through this statement, the investigator again described to the white population of Charleston, and Charleston County, what they viewed as the stupidity and incapability of blacks. Those who read the report, almost entirely whites, interpreted it as reassurance of the idea that blacks needed white men to control and instruct them in order to be productive within the labor force. Much of the white population believed that if the lack of white control over the blacks continued, the result would devastate the economic system that whites had worked so hard to establish. The report published in the *News*, in addition to the paper's own commentary, implied that had whites continued to maintain control of the land then the crops would have been healthy and the state would have continued to be prosperous. In addition, the argument was made that the state would have benefited economically as well because the northern buyers would not have taken advantage of the whites the same way they did when they traded with blacks.<sup>246</sup> Thus, after the report was published in the *News*, the concept of white supremacy became even further ingrained in white citizens' mind and furthermore, the article gave the public an added reason to believe that blacks were uneducated and uncivilized. In addition, blacks were unable to effectively participate in southern economic practices – therefore, as Federal law mandated slavery as an illegal institution, Southerners believed that the law, and the black community, held whites and the Southern economy back from any recovery in nearly every way.

By 1866 it was clear that South Carolinian's held a negative image and perception of blacks, though these feelings and beliefs only escalated in May of the same year.

---

<sup>245</sup> "Fresh Disclosures About the Negroes," *The Charleston Daily News*, May 28, 1866, 1.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

Therefore by May of 1866 a provision was introduced by Thaddeus Stevens, one that called for the rebel states, which were previously part of the Confederacy, to concretely establish the new rights of its states under rewritten Constitutions. Stevens declared that the new state Constitutions had to be voted on by all citizens of the states who were of the voting age, thus insinuating that blacks were allowed and expected to vote as well. The call for all citizens, blacks included, initiated the development of more fear and heightened racism throughout South Carolina, and the region, as the issue of black voting rights was addressed.<sup>247</sup> The issue of black suffrage was highly emotional and highly controversial in South Carolina, the state's citizens found both emotional and philosophical issue with such a concept. It was an emotional issue for South Carolinians as they viewed blacks as either property or sub-human, both they believed were unable to make an intelligent and informed decision at the polls. In addition, it was a philosophical issue as citizens felt that the Federal government had thrust the concept upon them therefore demonstrating the Federal government's abuse of state's rights.

Furthermore, the issue of giving black men the right to vote further advanced and deepened the division of the party lines within the state. The most vocal and outspoken group that supported blacks' right to vote was the Radical Republicans, both nationally and within South Carolina. The Radical Republicans was a political party that sharply contrasted with Conservative ideas; the party's main platform strongly and adamantly addressed the need for black suffrage as it strove to grant equality to all, regardless of race.<sup>248</sup> The state's Conservatives strongly opposed the Radicals' views of black suffrage, the member's of the Conservative party felt that if universal male suffrage was

---

<sup>247</sup> "By Telegraph – Congressional," *The Charleston Daily News*, May 29, 1866, 1.

<sup>248</sup> Foner, 28-30

incorporated into the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, it would create a “monster bill.”<sup>249</sup> The *Charleston Daily News* reported the constitutional ruling as strict and irreversible, regardless of public opinion. The *News* printed an article from an Ohio paper that stated that the South was part of the “conquered provinces,” therefore it should admit black suffrage in an effort to rile white South Carolinian emotions. The message from the Ohio paper further warned the South that the North had a standing army that was aligned with the Freedmen’s Bureau and together it would continue to force the Southern hand into the allowance of blacks suffrage, rights that it believed were deserved.<sup>250</sup> In the same issue, the *News* report that President Johnson ordered the arrest of members of the Freedmen’s Bureau– an ironic action given that the issue also spoke to the motive of increasing black’s rights. The *News*, in response to the President’s order, suggested that the Johnson had overstepped his boundaries. The paper’s articles were written with the intent to portray its opinion of race relations as a way to shape the views and attitudes of its readers on the matters. Regardless of the *News*’ article, the opinions and attitudes of the white southerner’s toward blacks did not show any significant shift or chance of a change.

The *Charleston Daily News* provided blacks with a glimpse of hope as the paper printed a seemingly favorable quote in support of black suffrage, one that forced some South Carolinians begin to adopt a more progressive attitude toward blacks. The statement referred to the idea of equal rights for all citizens within the United States, the paper declared that the nation was founded on “the equality of rights was the original

---

<sup>249</sup> “Charleston,” *The Charleston Daily News*, May 29, 1866, 4.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

thirteen states before the Government was formed.”<sup>251</sup> South Carolina took great pride in its history of being an original colony, and so with the paper’s reference to its past, hope of the state’s citizens changing their racial attitudes, began to emerge.<sup>252</sup> Therefore as the *News*’ statement suggested, a spark of the open-minded discussions started within the state.

Furthermore, the *News* began to extend a public voice to blacks, the paper printed more letters from blacks individuals who were part of the Freedmen’s Bureau. As the well-written and well-reasoned letters were published for the general public to read, white South Carolinians were forced to reexamine their preconceived notion that blacks were uneducated. In addition, these letters clearly created a forum for Bureau members to state their intentions, which caused further white readers to reform their opinions. For many whites there was a clear disconnect between what they perceived the Freedmen’s Bureau’s beliefs were and in contrast, what those beliefs actually were, ones that largely concerned black suffrage and civil rights. The majority of whites believed that blacks, in the Bureau, campaigned for black suffrage at the expense of whites - many thought that blacks given equality and the right to vote would ultimately force whites to pay the cost. To this, originally whites believed that they had been obligated to surrender their plantations to people they deemed incapable of managing and controlling them. Instead, the Freedmen’s letters assured whites that blacks had the ability to become “self-sustaining” in the same way whites had been for years as the letter urged the President, the original recipient of the letter, to allow blacks the ability to be self-sustainable. The

---

<sup>251</sup> “Reconstruction – the Report of the Minority – Relations of the State Unchanged,” *The Charleston Daily New*, June 25, 1866, 1.

<sup>252</sup> The Library of Congress, "South Carolina," *America's Story from America's Library*. [http://www.americaslibrary.gov/es/sc/es\\_sc\\_subj.html](http://www.americaslibrary.gov/es/sc/es_sc_subj.html) (accessed March 10, 2013).

Freedmen's Bureau representative also endorsed the President's veto of the Civil Rights Bill, he stated in the letter that he had conducted an experiment to prove blacks own self-sustaining ability. In the experiment, the representative had rented land, which included a farmhouse, where blacks could go to continue to work on their skills that they had learned. While the blacks worked on the planation they were completely self-sufficient and were able to keep the fruits of their labor and thus, proved their own sustainability.<sup>253</sup> As a result of the *News* printing such a letter, blacks clearly presented a fair argument, which had the potential to change the whites' attitudes to toward blacks, especially as it exemplified blacks' ability to conform and contribute to the white lifestyle. However, this was only a glimpse into the initial support and mild acceptance of blacks across the state. Although there was a glimmer of hope for blacks, the paper continued to provide whites with positive messages about blacks as the *News's* editors knew that the majority of readers would not shift their attitudes very quickly. While it was highly progressive for the *News* to print Freedmen's letter, it did not mean that the *News* stopped printing articles that severely questioned the black person's capability to become "self-sustaining."

Articles in response to the freedmen's letter were also printed and questioned the ability of the inferior race, especially in regard to political freedom. One article specifically countered any positive change in whites attitudes towards blacks, instead, the article clearly suggested the blacks were ignorant and inferior as it stated, "If the freedmen should ever be allowed to vote a decided majority of them, after the first year or two, would be found voting with the whites. This, upon the presumption that the

---

<sup>253</sup> "A Letter to the President," *The Charleston Daily News*, June 26, 1866, 1.

Southern people consent to confer upon them the privilege of this great franchise.”<sup>254</sup>

These anti-black suffrage articles were a response to the first steps taken to extended power of the Civil Rights Bill, which included black suffrage, by the President and Congress. Instead what was created and passed in June of 1866 by Congress was the “Citizenship Clause,” which was later be adopted within the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition the bill suggested that concept of blacks’ right to education; the argument was that if the Federal Government was forcing blacks into white society, blacks could not be ignorant, as it would harm the whites.<sup>255</sup>

The Citizenship Clause was yet another drastic change and controversy that was affecting the Southern white’s lifestyle. For the previous ten years the state has endured the decision to secede from the United States as it fought and lost a devastating war, was occupied by the victorious North, had its states’ rights ignored and trampled on, and had its economy destroyed by the emancipation of its low cost labor force. In addition, the state fought the Federal government’s implantation of Northern laws and ideals, resisted black suffrage, faced the loss of its lands to blacks, and then were instructed to educate these same inferior blacks. All in all South Carolina, during a short period, had been exposed to an overwhelming amount of change, regardless of its resistance. The *Charleston Daily News* published an article in an attempt to make sense of the reeling situation that South Carolina found itself in at the time, the article stated,

They consider us, their former owners, to be now as we always have been, their natural guardians and their best friends...it is our interest, as well as our duty, to diffuse the blessing of education...if it ever was good policy to keep them ignorant, it certainly is no longer...the right suffrage will, in all probability be given to this people some future day...ignorant voters are the curse of our country.<sup>256</sup>

---

<sup>254</sup> “The Daily News – A Negro Suffrage,” *The Charleston Daily News*, June 26, 1866, 3.

<sup>255</sup> Edgar, 385-386.

<sup>256</sup> “Education of the Negro,” *The Charleston Daily News*, June 27, 1866, 3.

South Carolina's whites were bombarded with rational for acceptance to the changing situation they faced as the editors thoughtfully laid out the plea. The paper began with soft tone as it attempted to persuade citizens towards acceptance of blacks through the instilment of fear. This fear pushed on society was one that was centered on blacks' lack of education, which was an aspect that was claimed would hurt white society through ignorant acts.

The momentum for blacks' educational rights under the Citizenship Clause was strong as there were dueling reasons for support. One reason was an intellectual appeal, the fear of destruction of the country as a result of uneducated voters and was purely emotional, guilt. The *News* specifically used the strategy of guilt as they posed the question –

Do whites owe them gratitude? We remember how they, for our sakes, endured heat and cold, wet and dry, summer and winter, cultivating our fields, ministering to our comforts, promoting their wealth, improving the country, and actually advancing civilization, but their physical labor; attending upon us at all stages of our lives, nursing our children, waiting upon the sick, going with us to the burial of our dead, and mingling their tears with ours in the open grave. Can it be that all this is forgotten? And is it not a small return for all this that we are asked to make, when it is proposed that we shall give them that modicum of instruction which will enable them to read, or at least to know the what of life eternal?<sup>257</sup>

Thus, due to the considerations and moral bearings presented to the public, the idea of a black school was created and purposed as a means of reassurance. The state had prepared for a time when blacks could vote so that in response, whites could ensure that blacks would not destroy the state, and on a larger scale the nation, due to their lack of the education.

---

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

Life in South Carolina after the war was filled with uncertainty as reflected through the reports and editorials written in the *Charleston Daily News*. There was clear ambiguity among whites' attitudes towards blacks as the paper continuously reported on mixed messages about race related issues. Initially the *News* reported with such vigor that blacks hurt the state and it urged whites not integrate with the race. However, as time moved on the paper began to engage a steady push towards a more reluctant acceptance of the race as it saw the upcoming the importance and impact of the black vote yet, still it held strong in its original views of hatred towards the race. This mixed message to the citizens was clearly displayed when the *News* stated, "The negroes came along with the white folks, they mixed in the crowd, and they were as well treated as anybody else"<sup>258</sup> while it later stated "in the view of the past condition of the negroes, and their lack of opportunity to fit themselves for what he wants to do, with them, he denounces as a rebel and traitor, according to his notion."<sup>259</sup> As time progressed the issue of black suffrage only grew stronger and as a result, more drastically divided the state – even politically.

By the end of 1867 it seemed as though attitudes towards blacks had begun to improve, which suggested progression within society, however the Black Codes were still in place, therefore limiting the amount of change possible. Presidential Reconstruction had started to lay a path of improvement throughout South Carolina in regard to race relations, as the reluctant acceptance of blacks by white South Carolinians had overtaken the state. However, as Radical Reconstruction began to emerge and the threats of black equality became more real, the state in many ways reverted back to its original racist views. The reunification of the nation soon decelerated as the next phase of

---

<sup>258</sup> "A Talk with the President," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 31, 1867, 1.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*



reconstruction was introduced. If there was any thought of southern progression of whites' attitudes towards blacks, the theory was put to rest by 1868 with the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan within South Carolina, an organization the *Charleston Daily News* did not support. The sudden emergence of the Klan ignited the fire between races and brought back the hatred and prejudice that many believed had slowed. Reports in the paper of the Klan's murders sent strong mixed messages to its readers. On the one hand, whites saw the murders as unnecessary acts of violence, while on the other they saw it as a way to protect citizens of the state. In addition, some newspapers defended the Klan's violence as it announced that the Klan's actions were no different from those of the Loyalist Leagues that had developed within the South as well.<sup>260</sup>

With the emergence of the Klan in the state, the *Charleston Daily News* began to report in a manner that was more directed toward the white supremacist platform as it published articles about the positive effects of the black race ceasing to exist.<sup>261</sup> This racial tension intensified as South Carolina prepared for the state's Constitutional ratification and the gubernatorial election, which were to be held together as the first major election in which blacks had been granted the right to vote. Blacks viewed the opportunity as a privilege and as a result, turned out in high numbers to vote. Nearly one hundred and eighty seven more blacks voted in the election than whites went to vote for the state Constitution.<sup>262</sup> Much of the white majority within the state outwardly rejected the idea that blacks were given the right to vote by the new Constitution. Many whites were so opposed to the concept because they believed that it would blur the color line,

---

<sup>260</sup> "News Summary," *The Charleston Dailey News*, April 14, 1868, 2.

<sup>261</sup> "The Municipal Elections – Is it necessary for voters to Pay a Capitation Tax?" *The Charleston Daily News*, April 15, 1868, 2.

<sup>262</sup> "The Election," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 17, 1868, 3.

break down divisions, and ultimately make whites and black equals – a horror that was too much to imagine for most whites. The disdain for the government and the fear of the black communities’ growing equality only intensified as the nation passed the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. Congress had crafted and ratified the amendment out of foundation that was set forth by the Civil Rights Act and the Citizenship Clause, while also in response to the Black Codes. The Amendment collectively combined the ideas of the Citizenship, Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses and extended them to both blacks and whites over the nation as it set forth the idea of a lax form of equality and freedom.<sup>263</sup> The reactions expressed by the whites towards the Amendment became a major problem throughout the South as the only way the Southern States, such as South Carolina, could be recognized by the nation was to ratify the new state Constitutions, which the legal bounded the states to enact new Amendment and essentially black suffrage.<sup>264</sup> Therefore, with the resented acceptance of black suffrage, when the results of the election were released, the paper praised black voters who had effectively voted in alignment with the whites– against the Constitution, for the Democratic Party.<sup>265</sup>

The elections of 1868 proved to whites, mainly to those within the government, that blacks were a force to be reckoned with as the *Charleston Daily News* reported “‘the colored population of the State as an integral element of the body politic’ and declaring a ‘willingness, when we have the power, to grant them, under proper qualifications, the right of suffrage.’”<sup>266</sup> As a result of the state election, the newly named Governor was Robert Kingston Scott, a Republican, a man who was formerly part of the Freedmen’s

---

<sup>263</sup> Blight, 309

<sup>264</sup> Tuck, 57-58

<sup>265</sup> “The Election,” *The Charleston Daily News*, April 15, 1868, 3.

<sup>266</sup> “Impartial Suffrage,” *Charleston Daily News*, April 18, 1868, 2.

Bureau and actively supported the rights of blacks. Therefore, once Scott was elected he declared that secession and slavery were both dead issues. His views coincided with the laws of the nation and the viewpoints of President Grant, the newly elected President, as he was declared that suffrage was to be controlled by the state.<sup>267</sup> In addition, the governor's election coincided with the ratification of the new South Carolinian State Constitution, which officially determined that blacks, who were born in the country, were considered legal citizens and held equal rights and protection, regardless of their race.<sup>268</sup>

By 1870 the *News*' demonstrated subtle and interesting shifts in attitudes towards blacks as the newspaper began to refer to blacks either as "freedmen" or "colored," the latter was growing more popular, rather than "negroes". In addition, a problem developed around the question of whether blacks deserved the same level of education as whites, a concept that inevitably led to an issue of funding, or lack thereof, in the case of blacks' schools.<sup>269</sup> These schools for blacks, or "Colored Schools" as more properly titled in the piece, explained that it had twenty teachers for eight hundred and eighty students, all in a building that was rapidly declining. Thus, the school saw it necessary for the state to require the same plan that was implemented into white school to be applied to colored schools as well. The color school featured in the article, not only begged for academic equality but, it also wanted to see a change in the administrative salaries and similar other aspects of the school. The colored school's hope was that the article in the *Charleston Daily News* would draw attention to its cause and ultimately result a change to be sanctioned throughout the state. The article was significant and monumental leap for the paper, and in many ways the state, because in prior years such an article would not have

---

<sup>267</sup> "Suffrage Left to the State," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 8, 1868, 1.

<sup>268</sup> "Progress of the Ballotting," *The Charleston Daily News*, July 9, 1868, 1.

<sup>269</sup> "Politics of the State," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 17, 1868, 1

been printed due to its radical and progressive nature. The nation, and state, finally began to accept and acknowledge blacks as people, a concept that was very immensely progressive for South Carolinians at the time.

With the idea of blacks education was present in minds of many South Carolinian's, the *Charleston Daily News* printed a message from the President addressing the "promot[ion] and encourage[ment] of popular education."<sup>270</sup> Thus the state demonstrated a clear shift in attitudes toward blacks, one where citizens began to humanize blacks and recognize the races' importance within the country. As South Carolina's attitudes progressed, the president displayed his support for blacks through a message where he explained the importance of the Fifteenth Amendment. President Grant announced that the legislation as one of "grander importance than any other one act of the kind."<sup>271</sup> In many aspects the statement was true, no other piece of legislation, not even the Emancipation Proclamation, humanized blacks with such a sense of empowerment, ability to take action, and a glimpse of equality as the Fifteenth Amendment. President Grant suggested that the amendment paved a path for men who, for the first time, were given the ability to take big life altering steps for blacks. The way the President's letter was composed and published in the newspaper could have been seen as a form of propaganda, one that prevented any form of resistance by the people for this legal passage. To further to instill the importance of the legislation in the populations' mind, the actual wording of the proclamation "Article XV Section 1" was published in

---

<sup>270</sup> "The Fifteenth Amendment: Message of the President in Full – Proclamation of the Secretary of State," *The Charleston Daily News*, April 2, 1870, 1.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

the paper, which further proved the formal and legal legislative act would be carried out and enforced.<sup>272</sup>

As blacks were finally granted human rights that they had been denied for so long, their pleas for a more equal school had also been heard as South Carolina turned its focus to the issue. The *Charleston Daily News* wrote about a school in Columbia, South Carolina, the Howard School for the Colored Children, and suggested there might be an underlying push for the people of Charleston to follow Columbia's path. The school and the article was another way for the *News* to shift the minds of white South Carolinian's toward blacks, especially in regard to education. The Howard School was supported by Northern charities, under the state superintendent and was composed of an integrated staff – Northerners and Southerners, Blacks and Whites, all worked for the school.<sup>273</sup>

In an effort to influence its citizens, newspapers in South Carolina continuously reminded its readers about the need for blacks' acceptance within society and the more human treatment towards these people. In addition, the politics of the nation were also a contributing factor in reshaping South Carolinians minds. As the Radical Republican Party began to take more prominence within the state, the ideas of the party began to resonate to the citizens through the newspapers' adoption of the ideas. The political ideologies expressed through the papers, which ultimately shaped the minds of whites within the State and were of great importance to South Carolina as it entered of its gubernatorial elections of 1870. Republicans had maintained a sway in state politics since the end of the Civil War when the party obtained great influence; however, its grip of power had begun to fall short as years progressed. As Radical Reconstruction carried on

---

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> "Education – Satisfactory Condition of the Howard School," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 6, 1870, 1.

the Radical Republicans of the North began to gain majority throughout the country regardless of the South's strong disdain for the party. Thus, in response, the South Carolina Republican Party found it was in its own best interest to oppose and counter the Radicals' strongest views – specifically those related to race. Republicans knew that if the party addressed its own attitudes towards blacks that it would put itself in a position where it would be publicly heard due to the controversy that surrounded the topic of race. And so, to address the issue, the South Carolina Secretary of State, Francis Lewis Cardozo, the first black to hold statewide office in the United States, spoke about the state on behalf of the Republican Party.

‘Congress and the great body of the Northern people they represented, though they had emancipated the slaves, had done so as a war measure, and were not willing to give the freedmen political power,’ and that they were only inclined to do so by the refusal of the South to accept the terms of reconstruction. This clearly concedes what the south has always asserted – that the north gave the suffrage to the freedmen for the protection of the radical majority in congress, and not for the benefit of the freedmen. And it shows that what the Radicals call the bitterness and prejudice of the Southern whites, in 1865 and 1866, was the direct cause of the enfranchisement of the colored people. Mr. Cardozo says empathically that ‘it was only by the pressure of uncontrollable circumstances that Congress was induced to bestow the ballot upon the freedmen,’ and that they ventured upon the plan ‘with fear and trembling.’ Under these circumstance, is there either rhyme or reason in insisting that gratitude should lead the colored people to remain bound hand and foot to a clique of corrupt Republicans, better known as the Scott Ring?<sup>274</sup>

The message Cardozo tried to convey to South Carolina, as published in the *News*, was one about the freedom. A black man argued that the emancipation of slaves, declared by the North and supported by Radicals, was only done as a war measure and ultimately imposed for regional motives as way for the North to subjugate the South. The purpose of Cardozo's statement was to build a firmer foundation of hatred toward the North, more

---

<sup>274</sup> “Fatal Admissions,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 6, 1870, 1.

specifically the Radicals, due to race relations as the party's platform largely addressed that issue.<sup>275</sup>

And so, the message by conveyed by Cardozo, in sum, was directed toward whites of the state; however it reached the blacks as well. The idea that emancipation was a war measure angered whites because of its overtly sectionalism roots and because it also forced blacks to reevaluate the motives of the North, which implied that black's freedom was done purely for political reasons. The paper printed a statement that read, "This clearly concedes what the south has always asserted – that the north gave the suffrage to the freedmen for the protection of the radical majority in congress, and not for the benefit of the freedmen."<sup>276</sup> It was through this manipulative style of reporting that Conservative Republicans hoped to win the majority of black votes in the gubernatorial election of 1870 and secure South Carolina's opposition to the Radicals for at least another two years.<sup>277</sup>

Throughout much of October 1870 the South Carolina Republican Party, in the hopes of a state victory, acknowledged the importance of the black vote in the state election. The Republicans made promises to the blacks in order to gain their support, which the party hoped would ultimately lead it to victory. Appeals were printed in the *Charleston Daily News* such as,

...if they vote for Scott, they shall be paid for their work during two years and a quarter intervening between the declaration of Emancipation and the termination of the Confederate war...the pledge that they shall receive *two hundred and twenty five dollars for each working man if they all vote for Scott, is more tempting with the masses, than the certainty of steady work and regular pay.*<sup>278</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> "The Last Doge of the Ring," *The Charleston Daily News*, October 7, 1870, 2.

Black support was gained and secured through tactics were described and praised by the *Charleston Daily News* in an article published prior to the state election,

...the new appeal of the [Scott] Ring to the colored people is a dexterous device for confirming the faithful, and luring back the wanderers from the Radical fold it is expected to stir up bad blood between the Whites and Blacks, to make the colored people believe that they have been robbed and to persuade them that the Scott Ring will make a speedy restitution.<sup>279</sup>

Through such an article, it was clear that the Southern Conservative Republicans had acknowledged the importance of the black vote, an idea that was soon recognized throughout South Carolina as other newspapers began to publish articles with blacks in mind. As the *News* began to show more positive attitudes towards blacks, especially to gain their political support, significant numbers of whites also began to half-heartedly accept the black race. At this point a shift began to occur within the state, one that more visibly acknowledged the beginning stages of black's role in society.<sup>280</sup>

By October 1870 there was a growth of tolerance in the attitudes of South Carolinian whites towards blacks. Later that month another political party had forcefully entered the political spectrum of South Carolina and began to establish its own views and attitudes, which specifically targeted the attitudes toward blacks. The newly emerged political party, the "Union Reform Party," was largely composed of and supported by middle class whites. The party embraced "local self-government, with impartial suffrage, [to] guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power...[and] return to the...constitutional limitation of power."<sup>281</sup> Therefore, the party's foundation, in many ways, was the combined the political and ideology viewpoints and ideals of white South Carolinian men. Despite the constant promises made by the Republicans, blacks'

---

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Zuczek, 78.



trust in whites were constantly doubted and questioned – an idea not unreasonable given their past racial history. Most blacks feared that the promises made by the Republicans were just statements used to ensure the election of the Republican Party to government. Many blacks saw the actions of these Republicans as a way to “boasted protection...to sell them out to the Democratic Party at the very time when, according to the Radical oracles, they were most in danger of losing their person and political freedom.”<sup>282</sup>

Regardless, in the 1870 gubernatorial elections blacks firmly continued their support for the Conservative Republican Party, simply because for many it continued to symbolize freedom. As a result of the black vote in the 1870 state election, Conservative Republican candidate Robert K. Scott was elected for another term. With the fall of the Uniform Reform Party to the Conservative Republicans, an outcome largely due the blacks’ votes, whites, angered by the result of the election, reassumed their negative opinions and attitudes that they held of blacks in the early stage of Presidential Reconstruction.

While South Carolina newspapers were consumed by the state election while many tried to bid for votes, the levers of race and political party affiliation –the Ku Klux Klan – also became increasingly prominent within the state. The symbolism and ultimate goal of the Ku Klux Klan provided clear evidence of the regression of whites’ attitudes towards blacks within the state. The *News* ultimately contributed to the shift in racial attitudes as it shaped the citizens’ minds through its reports of the Ku Klux Klan’s activities. Commonly reported accounts by the *News* regarded blacks whom had stood up and rebelled against Republicans, a tactic that the Klan often viewed as betrayal and therefore resulted in severe beatings as a response.<sup>283</sup> In nearly every manner, the

---

<sup>282</sup> “Governor Scott and General Hampton,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 11, 1870, 2.

<sup>283</sup> “Inoffensive Negroes Outrageously Whipped,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 15, 1870, 1.

*Charleston Daily News* advocated for reform while proponents of the Klan's organization used these reports of violence as a mean to further damage the Republican name reach out to gather more votes for the Reform Party. Though it seemed that many white's, especially those who supported the Republicans, had re-embraced their negative attitudes of blacks, the *News* continued to act in support of blacks as the paper denounced the violent tactics of the Klan. Therefore, as a newspaper, the *News* had the opportunity, resources, and power to influence the public – a strategy it acknowledged and endorsed. The influence of the paper through its published articles on race achieved some success in its goal to shape citizens minds as some readers distanced themselves from the Republican Party worked in South Carolina in 1870. An estimated 148,716 ballots were cast in the election while roughly 30,114 of those were black votes, which demonstrated the emergence of blacks on the political scene and thus the need to harmonize with the race.<sup>284</sup> In addition, the election showed the beginning of what soon became a state of racial tension and segregation once again by the 1872.

Within only two years, between 1870 and 1872 South Carolina moved from a society where whites and blacks had begun to moderately agree on things, to one that returned to complete segregation of the races and then to one of reluctant acceptance due to political reasons. The racial violence of Radical Reconstruction reemerged and the Ku Klux Klan ran wild with its reign of terror on blacks. By 1872 politics had drastically changed and South Carolinians, through much work by newspapers, disassociated themselves with other national party and claimed “Hobson’s Choice” – a free choice,

---

<sup>284</sup> “The Vote in the State,” *The Charleston Daily News*, October 20, 1870, 2.

taking it or leaving it.<sup>285</sup> Although newspapers still acknowledged that blacks played an enormous role in the political sphere it did not believe that blacks were capable of determining their votes for themselves. The lack of confidence bestowed in the black race by newspapers was much more clearly shown through an article in the *News* that stated, “Teach them to throw away their votes on candidates.” Thus, by 1872 the attitudes whites held might have been negative yet, they fully acknowledged that in order to get the results they wanted they had to begrudgingly reach out to blacks.

As demonstrated by the *Charleston Daily News*, Charleston, and South Carolina as a whole, experienced great change over the Reconstruction years, especially in regard to their attitudes towards blacks. Initially during Presidential Reconstruction, a time between 1865 and 1867, the people of the state viewed blacks as subhuman and feared their existences. However, as time progressed and the state entered Radical Reconstruction, 1868, coupled with the Federal Government’s expansion of the rights of the freedmen South Carolinians were forced to acknowledge the impact that the freedmen held, especially in regard to political power. As it became clear that the black vote had become more and more important and necessary to win elections the whites’ outlook towards blacks softened by 1870. Although blacks were more accepted by whites as human beings and important assets within society, there still was a sense of some superiority that was possessed by whites during the time period. However, the election of 1870 served as a turning point as the attitudes toward blacks once again shifted negatively. This form of supremacy was especially noted through the articles during the Presidential election of 1872 in which whites acknowledged the impact that blacks held

---

<sup>285</sup> Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary. 11th ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 2003. Also available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

but they did not believe that black possessed the ability to make the correct decisions for the state on their own. While the attitudes whites held toward blacks evolved during the early Reconstruction phases and those same attitudes boomeranged back and forth from relatively positive to outright contempt and hatred. While blacks were still thought by many as inferior to whites, they did make strides; blacks moved from inhuman property to being recognized as human albeit still inferior (three-fifths of a white) and became a recognized voting block that needed to be addressed and influenced. This evolution of the white view of blacks could largely be contributed to newspapers and other forms of press during the Presidential and Radical Reconstruction eras.

## Chapter 6: The Ultimate Goal

The middle of the nineteenth century was a time of turmoil and grave uncertainties for the United States of America, none more so than for the states in the Southern part of the country. The nation was not always united as suggested by its name; instead the nineteenth century was a time when the country was divided economically, politically, culturally, and geographically between two regions – the North and the South. The country officially separated when the Southern states seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America, which led to the onslaught of the most devastating period in American history, the Civil War and Reconstruction. Yet the period, which immediately followed the War, was an era when the South saw a tremendous amount of change and upheaval, a shift in allegiances, self-preservation and the unrelenting attack on the region's economy, society and lifestyle. Reconstruction was the period that immediately followed the Civil War, it was a time dedicated to rebuild a broken nation, reunify the country, and restore the federation of states that had been bound together under the Federal Government. The Southern states in opposition held much dismay for such a plan, especially South Carolina a state that quickly emerged as an outspoken leader of the South.

Prior to the War in the 1850s, the North and South held strongly contrasting stances on the matters of race and politics, most notably in regard to views on partisanship, the role of the Federal government, and attitudes towards race. These tensions, which divided the country in the 1850s, came to a boiling point in 1861 with the commencement of hostilities between the North and South. By 1865 feelings that were associated with the regional divisions and tensions were fully exposed. The defeated

region, the South, abandoned its beliefs and acquiesces to the victorious North at the end of the war. Yet, the South still clung to its historical, economic, societal, and cultural heritage and resisted Northern political domination while it continued to maintain the framework of one “United” nation. While some of the resistance by the Southern region was violent, the majority was non-violent and focused on the political processes that took place in the late nineteenth century. It was through political resistance that South Carolina excelled as a leader of all Southern resistance. South Carolina’s focus was largely on the fundamental principles of states’ rights to self-determination rather than the North’s belief in centralized Federal control. In many ways the South fought the Civil War for its economy and its way of life; but the underlying root of the conflict laid in the South’s need to preserve the institution of slavery, a right the region believed so deeply in that it engaged in the four year war in order to sustain. South Carolina continued in every aspect to resist the North’s attempt to control its fate and the South refused to accept Federal changes as it attempted to preserve the Southern region. Thus, South Carolina became one the loudest and most vocal critics of Reconstruction, the state continued to hold great significance and largely impacted the nation’s development throughout the era.

Reconstruction consisted of three distinct phases – Presidential, Radical and Redemption – all that collectively sought to restore the nation under one centralized government, which was ultimately ruled by one central document, the Constitution. For South Carolina, the time between 1865 and 1872 possessed great struggle, as the state resisted Federal control yet was still subjected to forcible change. It was during this time period that the Southern states were obligated to accept the newly imposed Federal Government’s rulings that were temporarily put in place. Such rulings were imposed as

ways for the North to ensure the security of South Carolina, along with the other Southern States. In addition, the rulings guaranteed that the region would follow the newly implemented central power and the Federal laws, which pertained to human rights for all citizens and black suffrage. Therefore, the seven-year period that immediately followed the war proved to be highly contentious and helped form the outlook that many South Carolinians held and still hold to this day.

The years between 1865 and 1872 proved to be some of the most crucial years in the development of South Carolina due many drastic changes the state was subjected to and forced to accept. The readmission of the Southern states into the Union after the war verified measures that had required the state to acquiesce to the beliefs and policies each had once escaped when the states seceded during the antebellum period. The struggle that South Carolina experienced was clearly documented through such newspapers as the *Charleston Daily News*. The paper laid out ways to navigate the waters of Reconstruction to the citizens of the state while, the editors also provided the citizens with their own beliefs and political stances. The *News* swayed and shaped public opinion on matters of partisanship, the Federal Government and the attitudes towards blacks through the propaganda style of reporting and writing within the paper that was distributed to the public daily. The *News* actively resisted the Federal Government's implemented rulings of black suffrage until the political elections occurred, a time blacks when were able to demonstrate their political influence within the state, an issue that could not be ignored and needed to be addressed. In addition, the *News* fought for the people and the lifestyle of the South as it staked out new positions in order to influence its readers to take the appropriate actions.

Throughout the nineteenth century newspapers, in many ways, were the passageways to South Carolina's, or any State's, heart, as the papers directly spoke and shaped the ideas of people. The newspapers molded the minds of and the votes of its citizens through its own editorial reporting as it stated its partisanship through the re-printing of like-minded articles from other newspapers that shared similar political viewpoints. The *Charleston Daily News* itself, though it claimed to hold unbiased views and opinions, had developed an ideology that vividly expressed its opinions that surrounded matters such as politics, the Federal Government, and blacks. Such opinions were articulated within the paper through the use of harsh and direct language, ones that held an underlying message similar to that of propaganda. Thus, it became evident that the paper was written with the intention to influence and shape the minds of citizens of the Charleston area during Reconstruction, as it was a time of constant progression within the nation.

Over the *Charleston Daily News*' seven-year circulation period, the press developed a distinct style of writing that resembled propaganda and conveyed the varying, yet shifted views of the paper. This public shaping of citizens' ideas and opinions was clearly evident in regard to politics as the paper portrayed its stance and party alliances, on both a state and national level. Although the Civil War was over, the result had not changed the views held by the North and the South. Politically, between 1865 and 1872 the nation was in a state of disaster as the North and the South continued to remain divided within its views toward partisanship and the Federal Government. In addition the racial attitudes possessed by both regions, before and during the Civil War, remained relatively unchanged after the War. Thus, it was due to these factors that a



seamless and simple reunification of the United States had taken place. And so, while South had surrendered its arms to the North the region continued its political resistance in an effort to protect its economy, society, and lifestyle. Yet due to the South's defeat in the Civil War the region had no choice but to accept strict protocols and agreements as prerequisites for the each state's readmission processes to the Union, a tactic which further delayed the nation's progression, as South Carolina had accepted its destiny and followed the provisions.<sup>286</sup>

Newspapers were the primary source of news and information for all geographical areas as each paper holds its own unique views that were portrayed to its citizens and thus, reflect the population's beliefs as well. During 1865 and 1872, the *Charleston Daily News* presented the people of Charleston County with coverage on the politics; however the coverage ultimately influenced the readers as it bestowed its own stances and opinions on the public through its editorial partisanship. The *News* from its founding in 1865 had advocated and supported the National Democratic Party and supported the Conservative Party within South Carolina. Consequently, as Presidential Reconstruction drew to an end in 1867 and with it came the emergence of Radical Reconstruction throughout the nation, the paper had shifted its established partisanship ties as well.

During the middle of Radical Reconstruction, as the Radical Republican Party began to spread its influence throughout the nation, while the party also gained more momentum, which forced the paper's partisan views to change. Instead of the adamant support held for the Conservative ticket, the *News* repositioned its stance to directly oppose the Radicals platform in every way. At the dawn of the 1870s South Carolina's political scenes and parties began to fuse, and joined together under common political

---

<sup>286</sup> Edgar, 385.

views and beliefs to form new political parties to further oppose the Radical Party. Such politics parties were created due to black suffrage, a concept that had begun to sweep the nation and become a prominent factor in the politics of the time. The idea that blacks were able to vote was one that much of the white supremacist South resented and resisted as many of them, especially those in South Carolina, believed that giving blacks the ability to vote would bestow them with too much power. Therefore new political parties, such as the Uniform Reform Party, were created in South Carolina largely due to the divide in black suffrage support, although the parties also served as a way to bring both Conservative and Republican ideas together. Such tactics were used on a national level in the 1872 presidential election as the Liberal Republican Party was formed with its foundation similar to that of South Carolina's Uniform Reform Party in 1870. The Liberal Republican Party was created with the explicit purpose of opposing Radical Republicans positions and stances, especially surrounding black suffrage, while it also denied any support that would re-elect Grant to the Presidency. On a state level the disdain for the Radicals was taken a step further by 1872 in the state elections when the *News*, which opposed the Radicals in every aspect, introduced and advocated for, the concept of "Hobson's Choice." Such a concept implemented by the paper was formed with the distinct purpose of creating its own ticket outside of the established parties as a way take votes away from the Radicals. The *News* clearly believed that the Radicals posed a threat to South Carolina, especially as the party members were great advocates for blacks and centralized power.

The concept of centralized power, namely the Federal Government within the United States, was highly controversial topic that the *Charleston Daily News* exploited as

an attempt to shape its readers' thoughts on the government's role and involvement within the state and align them with the positions of the paper. South Carolina believed adamantly in state's rights and self-determination instead of using what it considered as a system of overarching power and authority, one that it believed was illegally and immorally imposed on the people of the state by the Federal government. With the end of the Civil War and the Northern victory over the region, the state was inevitably once again subjected to the central power that it had previously fought to reject. The relationship between South Carolina and the Federal Government was extremely complex and continuously shifted between support and disdain. In the years during the Civil War and in the years that immediately followed, South Carolina sustained its resentment towards the politics of the Federal Government as the state firmly believed in states' rights rather than centralized power. However, with the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the inauguration of President Andrew Johnson, the South Carolinian self-serving viewpoint began to transition into one that was more open and one that accepted outlook toward the Federal government. President Johnson appealed to the Southern States, he believed in strong state's rights as opposed to Lincoln's views of a strong Federal government. Johnson's Reconstruction policy distributed power taken from the Federal government and given to the states, which benefitted the Southern states and appealed to its desires. The *News*' support for the Federal government – which during that time had supported of President Johnson's views – did not last long past Presidential Reconstruction. As the next phase of Reconstruction began, Radical Reconstruction, Southern hostility increased and the disdain for the Federal Government grew, which resulted in the drifting apart of the relationship between the South's and the

centralized power. The *News*’ once again unwaveringly called for state’s rights as a way to influence its readers’ voting patterns in the early 1870s elections. The *News* believed that there needed to be change within the Federal Government’s power over the state as the paper advocated instead, the state’s rights and ability to it gain on its own. Thus, the barrier built between South Carolina and the Federal government continued to build, and many could argue is still growing today.

The attitudes held towards blacks that had developed within South Carolina were rooted in yet another point of controversy, one that the *Charleston Daily News* often addressed through its articles. The *News*’ propaganda-like writing also influenced the attitudes possessed by white citizens of Charleston towards blacks. The editors of the *News*’ attitudes, similarly to their politics views, shifted over time as well largely due to the introduction of black suffrage during Reconstruction. Initially when blacks returned to the state from the war after they had fought for the Confederacy, rather than recognized as heroes, white Carolinians continued to view them as subhuman and as a source of labor – the basis of the southern economy and lifestyle. By 1870 the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had also been passed, both pieces of legislation contributed to further controversy and angered many white Southerners as they refused to accept the amendments and remained adamantly against black equality. Many of the whites continued to strongly oppose legislation passed by the North, which, according to the southern view, did nothing but harm the region. Thus, a tremendous anger was felt toward the Republican Party due its alignment with black suffrage, a concept that led to corruption in the eyes of the South Carolinian people.<sup>287</sup> Black suffrage and its economic, social, and political implications had great effects over South Carolina, even before the

---

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, 398.

amendments were passed, as the racial separation of the state became extraordinarily stark and harsh. In response, the state introduced laws that rejected desegregation, ones that were imposed by the Federal Government such as, the Freeman's Bureau Acts, Reconstruction Act and Enforcement Acts - all acts that were aimed to retain a segregated lifestyle and reaffirm white supremacy.<sup>288</sup> In every aspect these acts showed the political and social fears of the general population as well as state officials during the state's readmission into the United States between 1866 and 1872.

As the nation progressed further into the Reconstruction and blacks' rights had expanded, the *News* began to shift its attitudes from oppression to ones that understood the power that the blacks' vote had on the state. Due to this, the paper began to address, educate and inform the citizens of the state, both black and white, of the influence and impact these votes held. Although the people of South Carolina acknowledged the potential political sway of the black vote, the *News* still believed that blacks were incapable of making their own political decisions. Furthermore, due to such a belief, the paper continuously urged white South Carolinians to educate the blacks the realm of politics so they could make, what whites viewed as informed political decisions. Thus, through similar types of articles, there was distinct evidence that suggested the *News* was aware of the impact blacks had on the state, and as a result, outlined reasons for whites to establish an alliance, at least a political one, with blacks. Regardless of advocating political coalition with blacks, the paper continued to express its attitude of white supremacy through its published articles. The *News* believed blacks on their own, without education, would destroy the nation due to their oblivious lack of understanding of what was best for South Carolina and ultimately the nation as well.

---

<sup>288</sup> Foner, 871-881.

And so, the United States, nearly one hundred fifty years ago, engaged in a war that forever changed the course of the country. The fractured nation exited this four-year war still divided between two regions, both refused to surrender as each remained grounded on its own views economically, socially and politically. South Carolina after the war occupied a role that was similar to the one it took preceding the Civil War, a position that made the state a main focal point of the country's post-war resentment and hostility. South Carolina's refusal to the social and political changes created conflicts within societal standards as well as the national legislation. The state throughout the nineteenth century demonstrated substantial and collective change in its views and outlooks, especially in its partisanship ties, feelings toward the Federal government, and attitudes towards blacks.

In the middle of the century South Carolina was the catalyst for southern secession and the establishment of Confederate States of America, more commonly known as the Confederacy.<sup>289</sup> Post War South Carolina remained a radical state that was led by white supremacists and longed to preserve its way of life, one in which the white society ruled and blacks possessed no rights other than to serve the white males economically and socially. The state continued to rebel even after the South was defeated; it ignored the basic fundamental rights for people, namely former slaves, within the state as well as its views on politics and the centralized government.<sup>290</sup> As a result South Carolina's views and actions held great significance throughout the period of Reconstruction within the nation's history. The *Charleston Daily News* best demonstrated South Carolina's outlooks and engagements as it played a large role in fermenting the

---

<sup>289</sup> Edgar, 390.

<sup>290</sup> Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, 2-4.

continued rebellious behavior of the citizens of South Carolina. The *News* was the main lifeline throughout Charleston County as it greatly influenced the attitudes of the people who lived in one of the biggest and most prosperous city within the state. The paper bestowed its influence over the public through the use many different tactics such as harsh language, the instilment of fear, the genuine belief that its actions were beneficial for the state, and above all else, the firm conviction that it could change electoral outcomes. Therefore, during the paper's short circulation lifetime, the people of Charleston were greatly influenced by the partisan views of the *News* and as a result, remained faithful to historical Southern ideals of protecting the state's economy, society and lifestyle – which included white supremacy – while it remained rebellious against Federal government's interference and dominance of the state.

## Bibliography

### Primary References

*The Charleston Daily News*  
1865-1872

### Secondary References

Avillo, Philip J. Jr., "Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction (review)." *Civil War History* 24, No. 3 (1978): 281-283, <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cwh/summary/v024/24.3.avillo.html>, accessed September 9, 2012.

Blight, David W. *The Race and Reunion: the Civil War American Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.

"Constitution of the State of South Carolina, 1868." Teaching American History in South Carolina: A State-wide Approach to Teaching Professional Development. <http://www.teachingushistory.org/ttrove/1868Constitution.htm> (accessed March 9, 2013).

Edgar, Walter, *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1998.

Fahs, Alice. *Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South 1861-1865*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2001.

"First Reconstruction Act." TeachingAmericanHistory.org -- Free Seminars and Summer Institutes for Social Studies Teachers. <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1920> (accessed March 9, 2013).

Foner, Eric. *A short history of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. New York: Harper & Row, 1998.

Foner, Eric. "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction." *The Journal of American History*, 74, No. 3, The Constitution and American Life: A Special Issue (1987): 863-883, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1902157>, accessed September 15, 2012.

Goldfield, David R. *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.

Holt, Thomas. *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

"Lewis Malone Ayer, Jr." Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis\\_Malone\\_Ayer,\\_Jr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_Malone_Ayer,_Jr). (accessed March 9, 2013).



Library of Congress, Chronicling America Historical American Newspapers 1836-1922: "The Charleston Daily News 1865-1873" (Charleston; Dawson and Riordan), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026994/>

The Library of Congress. "South Carolina." America's Story from America's Library. [http://www.americaslibrary.gov/es/sc/es\\_sc\\_subj.html](http://www.americaslibrary.gov/es/sc/es_sc_subj.html) (accessed March 10, 2013).

McPherson, James M. *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1991.

*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. 11th ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 2003. Also available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

Saville, Julie. *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Shapiro, Robert. "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode." *The Journal of Negro History*, 49, No. 1 (1964): 34-55, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2716475>, September 15, 2012

Tuck, Stephen. *We Ain't What We Ought To Be*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

United States Congress, "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present," [bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104](http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=O000104) (accessed: January 10, 2013).

United States Constitution, amend. 15, sec. 2, cl. 1.

Wallace, David Duncan. *South Carolina: A Short History 1520-1948*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951.

Waud, Alfred R.. "The Freedmen's Bureau." HarpWeek: Explore History. <http://www.harpweek.com/09cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=July&Date=25> (accessed March 10, 2013).

Zuczek, Richard. "State of Rebellion." Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.